AGENTS IN THE ARCHIVE

Ordinary People and Things in Māori-European Encounters: Te Wai Pounamu, New Zealand circa 1769-1840

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for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Anthropology

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the interactions between the worlds of social classes and cultures for Maori and Europeans in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Te Wai Pounamu (New Zealand). The very early Maori-European transactions are interpreted in the light of archival reports of what happened and how people behaved, what role objects had in these transactions, and why so many of the transactions culminated in violence. In the archival record, it is clear that ordinary sailors and Maori commoners obviously experienced, participated and reported their observations differently than captains and chiefs, thus enabling their subaltern perspective to shed a different light upon the transactions. Details of the cosmological, epistemological and philosophical understandings of the world and the place of others in it, that each of these peoples brought to the encounters, and which underpinned their actions are described and used to explain some resulting misunderstandings about trade and exchange. The agency and polyvocality of objects and their role as cultural mediators, which spoke for the human participants when language and cultural understanding were deficient is also considered. The thesis argues for a multiperspectival approach to history and anthropology, a methodology incorporating insights from indigenous and European discourse, and the concept of using additionally, insights from the present to look at the past because they may shed some light upon each other hermeneutically- the past informing the present and vice versa. Archival material is used to argue that the success or otherwise of the outcomes of these intercultural encounters, and their consequential adaptive cultural and identity changes and hybridity, were as much facilitated by the contingent actions of subalterns as by those of higher rank, and as much by the ‘things’ they made, collected and exchanged as by the people themselves. A possible schema for the development and nature of intercultural hybridity is also suggested.

Key words: agency; cosmology; epistemology; exchange; gifting; hybridity; identity; polyvocality; risk-taking; subaltern; trade; transaction; *utu*

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"Te whenua, te whenua, te aroha mo te iwi, no ngā tipuna, tuku iho, tuku iho"

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List of Illustrations

Note on Abbreviations and Conventions

Words

This thesis contains a number of Māori, some Sāmoan and some colloquial sealing and whaling words. They are included in a glossary at the back of this work.

Accents

For Maori words macrons have been used in accordance with the conventions of the Ryan (1995) Dictionary of Modern Māori Auckland, Reed

Dialect

Where Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Mamoe are referred to I have attempted to follow the spelling of 'Ngāi Tahu' with an 'Ng' and 'Kati Mamoe' with a 'K'. I have endeavoured to follow this convention with quotes from people who have used these dialectual variations - and as with the quotes from European sailors, any 'mis-spellings', dialectual differences or grammars have been retained in accordance with what the people have written or are reported to have said.

Quotes

In order to preserve the 'flavour' and 'authenticity' of what people have actually said written quotes have not been edited or changed. Mis-spellings, incorrect grammar and expressions have been retained, together with punctuations, contractions and abbreviations of words used by the sailors. This means that many quotes contain spelling and grammatical errors, some of which betray the poor state of literacy, and the sounds of how people actually spoke and wrote at the time.

Abbreviations

NSW. refers to New South Wales Australia

ATL. refers to documents and art works in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand

HL. refers to documents in the Hocken Library, Dunedin, New Zealand

AB. refers to a trained, qualified seaman

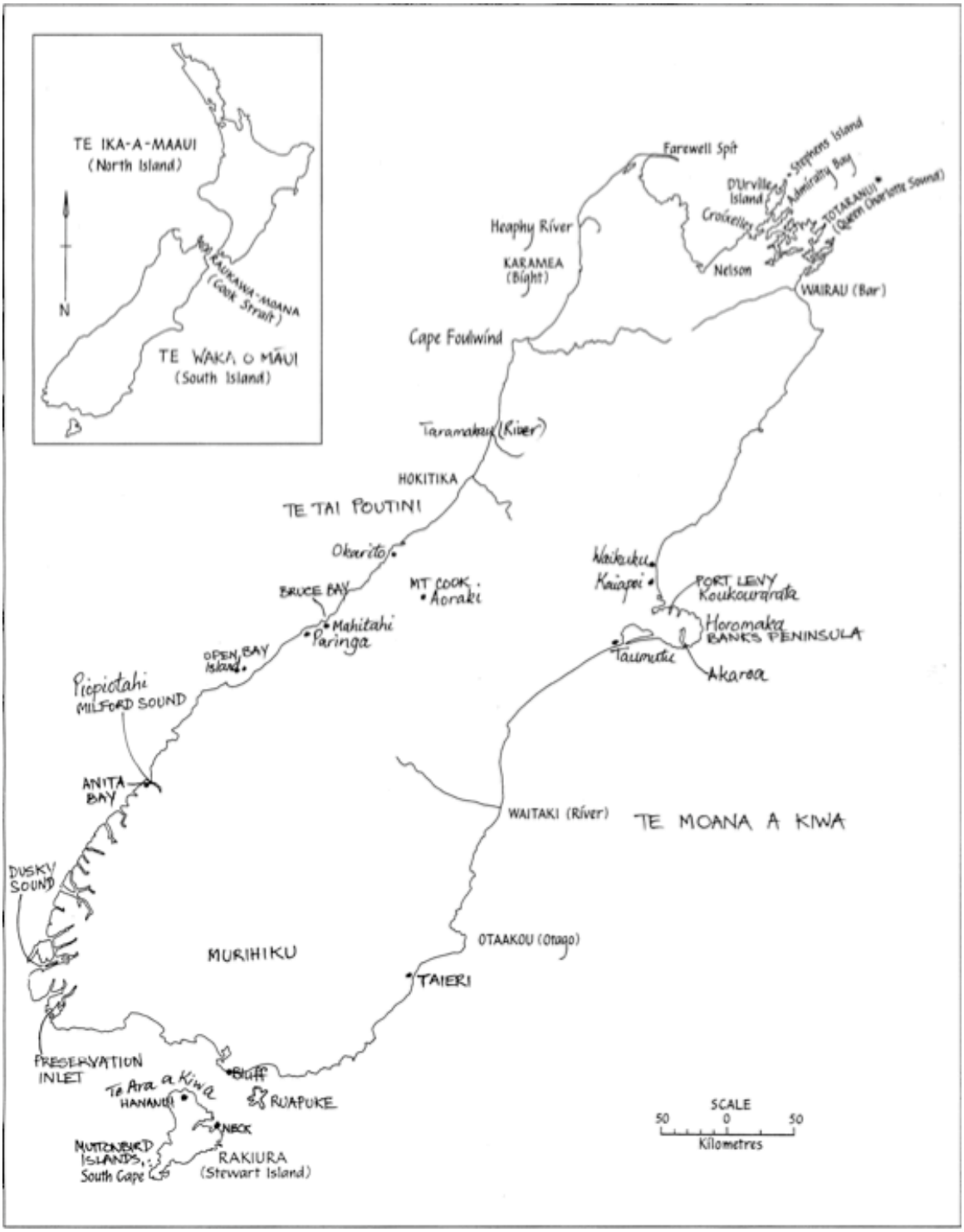


Figure 1. Outline map of New Zealand's South Island and Stewart Island showing places described in the text (Adapted from Salmond, 1997: 35)

INTRODUCTION

Boundaries, Horizons and positioning the observers

Thesis Aims and Background

This thesis examines interactions between the worlds of social classes and cultures for Maori and Europeans in Aotearoa- New Zealand in the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries. It focuses on the South Island known variously to Māori as Te Waka o Aoraki or Te Wai Pounamu, and on how material objects transacted and the human behaviours associated with them, reveal what implications they had for participants and other observers of these encounters. How human agency, identity, and the agency of objects affected the successful outcomes of the encounters and our interpretations of them is also examined. I have endeavoured to show how ordinary sailors and Māori experienced and participated differently in these historical encounters from ship's officers and chiefs. Their experiences make clearer to us the social and cultural dynamics of 'first encounter' situations, and how they have contributed to cultural and identity changes which are ongoing today.

Various historical and social theories are discussed, to show which can suitably be applied to the situations described, to demonstrate their overlaps and to position myself as an observer along with other observers referred to along the way. These overlaps have been reconfigured to show their relevance to intercultural encounters today, and support arguments for the incorporation of indigenous and local discourses into historical and social understandings.

For me, this journey begins in my childhood at Waikuku, North Canterbury where my father worked as the foreman of a gang of Māori and Pākehā workers. It developed a certain perspective when, as a student archaeological worker, I excavated the floor of a house site at the Wairau Bar Archaic Māori site described by Roger Duff (1977; 1961: 69). I had encountered - on a beach, as it happens - a craftsman (perhaps a *tohunga*[1]) whose cache of thirteen argillite adzes in different sizes and stages of completion, were stacked in a criss-cross fashion, buried in his hut floor. There were more questions than answers, as I wondered what he looked like, why he had buried them, why they were unfinished, how the stone got there etc., but the concept of interrogating people, their actions and motives, via the objects they use and make remains. More recently, all New

Zealanders have been affected by the ongoing process of claims made by Māori under the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi legislation, which provides for the return of or compensation for past loss of resources. One of the first major claims was the fisheries claim of the Ngāi Tahu iwi of Te Wai Pounamu. At the hearing, Ngāi Tahu presented the following statement in their *poroporoakī*[2]:

> Ahakoa kia pā te upoko o Te moana-Tāpokopoko-a-Tāwhaki ki ngā takutai oTe Waka-o-Aoraki, Engari, i tākekea te kupenga a Tahu kia oioi i roto i te nekeneke o te tai
>
> Although the shores of Te Waipounamu may be buffeted by the turbulent currents of the great waves of the southern oceans, the fishing net of Tahu has been made flexible so as to move at one with the tides.
> (Sea Fisheries report 1992)

On reading this, I was struck by Ngāi Tahu's conscious intent to use their agency as an adaptive strategy in the modern world, and by the imagery of the fishing net, so appropriate to our geographical position and resource base here in Te Wai Pounamu and also, at a meta level, by the Polynesian-way-of-seeing that it incorporates. It seemed that this viewpoint sheds new light for all of us on the agency of all our 'others'- not only the indigenous 'other', but the subaltern 'other' also, and confirms more recent statements by anthropologists, sociologists and some historians about agency, identity and culture. Therefore a preview of some of these approaches follows in succeeding chapters that position the encounters in time, place, Māori, Polynesian and European discourse, language, and within historical and anthropological theory. These reflect ideas, theories and perspectives, which may at first glance, appear to be incompatible. They explore European-Māori personal and cultural boundaries, and boundaries between Structural theory, subaltern studies, theories of self, identity and agency, 'history from below', Actor Network theory, Situated activity, and theories of gifting and exchange. When we examine the edges of objects under the electron microscope it can be seen that these edges are zones where worlds intersect interleave and mesh together and so too intellectual boundaries and ways of seeing can be also, when put under the 'proverbial' microscope.

In the Polynesian tradition of "Nga wā a heke mai nei" (in times to come)[3], this study is placed in the historical perspective of the present as well as the past. In his seminal work *Our sea of islands* (1993), Epili Hau'ofa speaks of two levels of operation in the modern Pacific region called "Oceania", of which Aotearoa-New Zealand is a part. There are the government, political, business and military communities who have their own visions of the Pacific and its people; and "ordinary people, peasants and proletarians

who… tend to plan and make decisions about their lives independently, sometimes with surprising and dramatic results that go unnoticed at the top…" (p.2). These people are examined here in detail, and in the historical context. They were interrrogated primarily through their writings, oral records, and observations others made about them, although one family is traced through to the present via a piece of whaling equipment they continue to own. The period concerned was on the cusp of many changes, locally and worldwide, and it is argued that these changes were brought about as much by the agency of ordinary people and things with which their lives were entangled, as by the political, diplomatic, business and military personnel present then, as now, to whom the primary agency for change has usually been attributed. What Hau'ofa says of these peoples today, has always applied - even before Europeans set foot on Pacific shores (1993: 1-3). In New Zealand, for *tauiwi* (foreigners) and Māori, the planning and decision-making have sometimes been inter-class and intra-cultural, and sometimes intra-class and inter-cultural, but all have contributed to the dynamics of intercultural exchanges and their "surprizing and dramatic results" which we continue to see. In the South Island of New Zealand, as elsewhere, the "fishing net… has been made flexible… to move at one with the tides"[ibid]. The fishing net does not act alone. It is made and used by people who act agentively and contingently, and are thus flexible also (cf. Ahearn, 2001: 131)[4]. They use the cultural toolkits they have inherited and learned to use, but they invent new ones during their encounters and interactions with 'others'.

The following seven chapters argue that the adaptive cultural and identity changes which occurred in both Māori and European society during the 'early contact' years, were facilitated not only by chiefs and captains but also by commoners, including slaves, women, ordinary sailors and workmen, and by the items they made collected and exchanged. Moreover, just as James Cook and 'Tōpā'[5] were positioned observers, so were the seaman Heinrich Zimmermann, and Tokitoki, the rangatira Māori wife of Murihiku 'Pākehā Māori' sealer, James Caddell. Of these participants and observers it appears that those who took risks and/or acted 'outside the square' were the ones who facilitated understandings. These early encounters were fraught with dangers of all kinds and in this thesis the descriptions of some extra-ordinary incidents, such as theft or violence, together with the roles of items given/exchanged/traded, expose some understandings and responses of people from different ethnicities and social worlds.

Chapter Previews

Because this thesis involves both historical and social science texts, data and methodologies, chapter one discusses the tension between historical and social science approaches. The focus is on four aspects that seem pertinent to the 'first encounter' situations described here. These are: the *overlap of interest* between history and social science, which determines the methodology to be used; the idea of *dynamic contexts*; the *limitations of texts* as representations of what 'really happened', and the *role of culture*. I argue for a 'history-in-the-round', incorporating perspectival views of the same subject/objects. In this view historians and anthropologists need not agree upon one approach to historical interpretation nor on one method of representation of the past, because all perspectives count, in fleshing out what is essentially informed guesswork. What each discipline finds, can be used to counterbalance and check the other. This applies equally to oral, visual and written records, observations and accounts. No one theory fits all cases, some work together in some situations or times, and all insights deserve consideration. Sometimes it is a case, not of 'either-or', but of 'both-and'. Too many truths are missed because of the habitual use of a Western legal adversarial approach to problem- solving. An example is the competing notions we have of time and history. A methodology incorporating insights from Māori *and* European discourse will be discussed. I did not invent this methodology, but have chosen it because it seems ethically sound and insightful for the reasons described above. Bronwen Douglas (1998) and Serge Tcherkézoff (2004) have used it for the Western and Eastern Pacific cases respectively, so I follow their example. Any mis-interpretations or 'deviations from the true path' are, of course, my own!

Chapter two positions this work in geographical space and explains how Māori and Europeans brought to their early encounters different conceptualisations of this place and its resources. This is significant from a Western viewpoint because despite a continuing similarity in the physical geography, the South Island political and human geography now is totally different from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries before any widespread European settlement. The physical and social environments of the South Island are described. How Europeans and Māori saw them politically, as revealed in the letters and administration documents of the New South Wales government, and in the journals and narratives of seafarers, sealers, missionaries and 'pākehā māori' who visited and lived here. Traditional Māori ways of seeing time, the land and sea, cosmology, and myth are also discussed and considered as components of the cultural schemas that are

also a resource base as Ortner has suggested (1990:88-91). Interpretations of Māori historians including Tipene O'Regan (1985, 1992), Te Maire Tau (2003, 2008) and Atholl Anderson (1998, 2008) are drawn upon, as is Anne Salmond's version of Māori Epistemology (1985). The aforementioned seafarer's journals and narratives, and recent historical and artistic representations by Māori *hapu* groups in Te Tai Poutini (the West Coast, South Island) are also used to illustrate performance of the genealogical connection of Māori to their land. They also illustrate how documentation from the historical archives used in combination with insights from the present may shed light upon each other in a kind of hermeneutic circle, the past informing the present and vice versa, as Hau'ofa's description of time suggests (op.cit.).

Chapter three describes historical and anthropological discourses regarding Pacific people that were current in contemporary 'Enlightenment Europe' of the time, as they are likely to have influenced the lives of common sailors and their officers - mainly Europeans but also their Māori counterparts interacting aboard ships and ashore in New Zealand. Their shared culture of shipboard life contained interactions within and between the subcultures of rank, so that sailors and officers, chiefs and commoners in some ways saw the world differently - a perspectival thread that runs through this thesis. In particular, ideas concerning the 'Great Chain of Being' and the enthusiasm for classification and collection influenced the interpretations and representations of Banks, the Forsters, and Solander, via Linnaeus (Gasgoigne, 1994: 101, 138). The anti- slavery movement, savagery and concepts of 'noble savages' also persisted amongst nineteenth century mariners, as did the discourse about cannibalism recently described by Obeyesekere (2005). These discourses and the growth of dissenting religious movements, British Moral Philosophy, 'improvement' and 'the work ethic' also influenced how ship's officers and educated seamen experienced, interpreted and reported their 'first encounters' with Pacific people and are mentioned specifically by Barratt with respect to Bellingshausen's visit to Queen Charlotte Sound in 1820 (1979). They certainly influenced Hawkesworth who wrote the voyage report of Cook's first visit from his study in Kent, England, despite his not even having been on the journey (1773). These matters have already been discussed by Salmond, Tcherkézoff and others, but still constitute essential background to enable understanding of the following interpretation of the voyage journals and narratives of minor parties and the experience of the journey and encounters by 'commoner' seamen of various nationalities, including (for sealers and whalers) Māori.

Archival materials- journals, narratives, British Admiralty records, and NSW government records, are examined in chapter four. Forty journals of junior officers and ordinary seamen on Cook's three voyages have been read from microfilm copies in the Alexander Turnbull library. Most, written by young men of average age 21years, are unpublished. They have been compared with journals of older more senior men Cook, Banks, the Forsters, Bayly and so on. Both categories of journals have been compared with those of sealers and whalers from the South Island, later than Cook, but still in the early period when many encounters were 'first' for at least one of the parties. This has provided some revealing information about class interactions between Europeans, between Māori, and cross-culturally. Unlike the crew of naval ships, some sealers and whalers were convicts, black Americans, and *lascars* contracted under Asian Articles[6]. They were mostly desperately poor, and often left in remote places for extended periods of time, with few provisions and expected to 'fend for themselves'. This sometimes necessitated their being pro-active in interacting with Māori and some acquired Māori wives[7], lived as Māori, spoke *te reo* Māori, and acted as intermediaries in material exchanges with visiting ship's captains. Some records are quite detailed and close reading of them, when compared with early ethnographic accounts and oral history records, also assists the interpretation of events and the day-to-day social lives of people from different ethnicities and social worlds at that time. Alongside this 'European discourse' background material, I place more recent scholarly views regarding *utu* by Buck, Māori Marsden, Metge, Mikaere and Salmond. Three particular incidents involving danger theft and the transaction of objects are explained in terms of *utu,* and its influence on subaltern people and their understanding of the 'others' is described.

Chapter five considers material objects that were transacted, and their agency. I have previously described in detail how cloaks and greenstone items, transacted between chiefs and ship's captains and officers, had many layers of meaning, with cosmological and religious implications, particularly for Māori (Wilkes, 2006: 35)[8]. These implications were not fully appreciated by Europeans, who understood them quite differently and focussed more on European 'trade'. It is suggested here, that only some transacted objects were in the trade category, and that much more than 'things' was transacted at the same time as 'things' were changing hands. Other equally important material objects, including nails, European garments, fish, fish-hooks, flax, fishing nets and preserved heads were also transacted, the recipients and givers were not necessarily of higher rank, and the opportunity to gain economic capital was thus available to those usually denied it - Māori

and European commoners. The agency of these objects is just as significant as that of cloaks and greenstone - despite their not having dense symbolic meaning or being symbolically polyvocal in the same way that prestige objects are. They contribute to technological hybridity because the relationship of their owners and makers to the Europeans is less charged with status, protocol and cosmological significance and they are more readily understood and adopted from a practical point of view. Ordinary sailors often had more in common with Māori commoners and slaves, than they did with their own higher- ranking officers. They were therefore able to interact on a much more practical level without much need for formal ceremony. A number of authors (such as Reed, 2007: 42) in the collection of Henare et al., "*Thinking through Things*" have shown that one physically identical item can change its significance when it passes between worlds of signification, even within the Māori world, for example. Like the persons whom Marilyn Strathern describes as having multiple identities, so can objects have multiple identities different parts of which can be mobilised depending upon the assemblages, associations and situations they are occupying at the time (cf, Strathern, 1991: 25-7). It is this adaptive and polymorphic identity that gives people and things, separately and as actant assemblages, a more potent agency than they would have if their identity were fixed and unchanging (Latour, 1999; Strathern, 1991). Furthermore, Henare, Reed, Pedersen, Leach and Holbraad (in A. Henare et. al, 2007) have each documented different examples supporting the view that in some societies, including Māori, things may be understood to have an agency that "does not originate from humans" (Reed, 2007: 42). This adds complexity to their agency in actant assemblages, and allows them the possibility of contributing to a reconfiguration of cultural schemas as people may do.

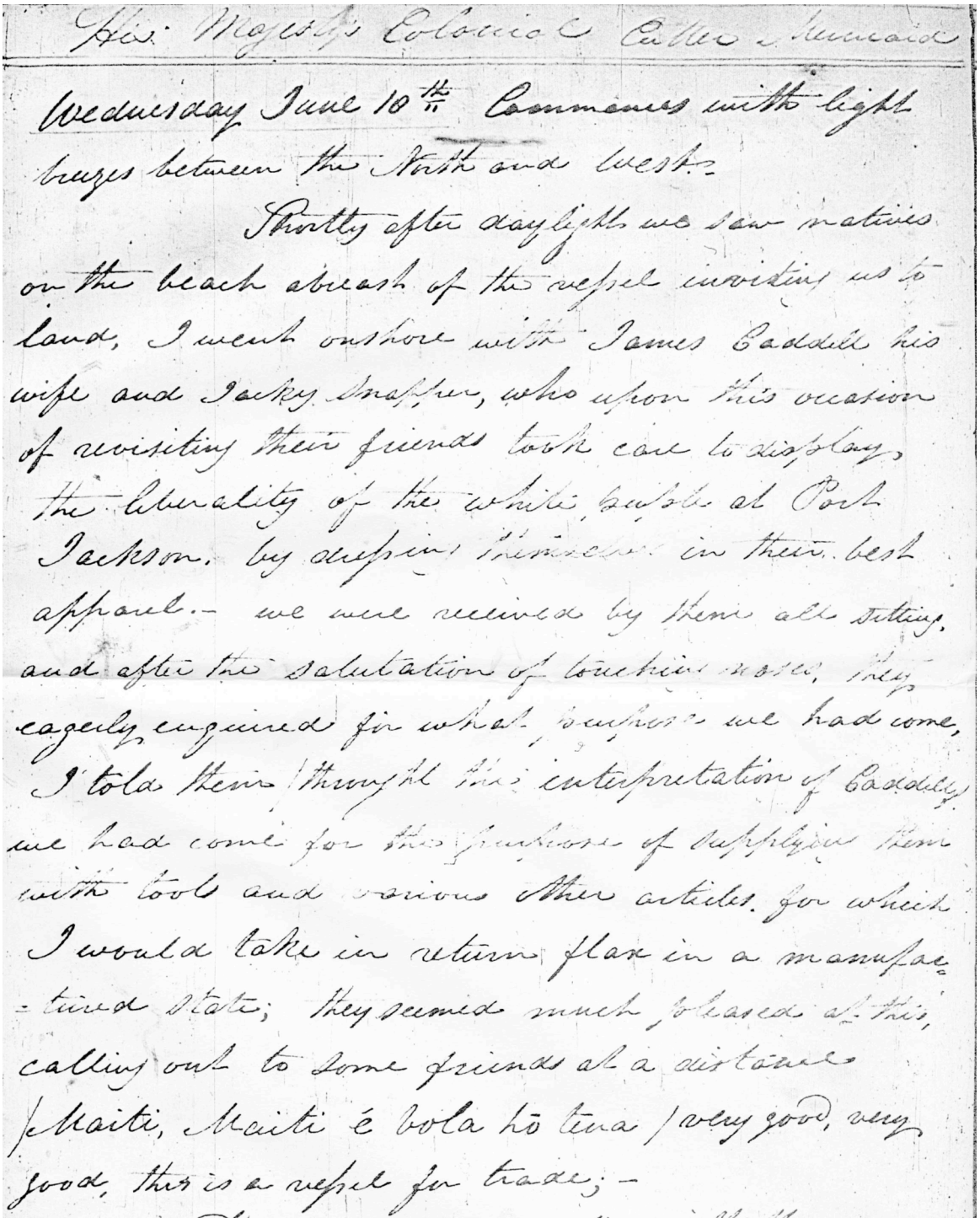
Chapter six returns to Ngai Tahu's previously quoted metaphor of the 'net of Tahu'- which indicates that Māori people of New Zealand's South Island in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, cast forth their net into the Great Ocean of Kiwa, and captured for themselves, a resource of fish, and (I suggest) also new knowledge and technology. In their traditional entrepreneurial way, they turned it to their own advantage. As Bourdieu described, agency is at least in part due to habitus and personal life trajectory, which seems to be true for these Māori and Europeans, but the concept of agency could be extended beyond Bourdieu's, to incorporate a conscious capacity and ability to create new ways of thinking and doing, as a result of new interactional situations. Māori should not be seen as passive 'natives' exploited by advantaged, 'superior' Europeans, but as active, conscious agents who quickly adapted new technologies and materials,

reconfiguring them to old ways, and utilised old skills to operate new technologies (cf. Simmons, 1985: 58-59). The same should be said also of subaltern *tauiwi* (foreigners). In this chapter Latour's method of following actor-networks has been used to trace one particular piece of technology, a whaling harpoon, which still exists as part of an assemblage of socially significant things in a family of mixed Māori-European descent in Murihiku. During the course of a day in their home at Bluff and subsequently through telephone discussions these people and their *whanau* in Christchurch shared their understandings of the harpoon, its previous owners, their *whakapapa* connections to the land and sea and to Ngāi Tahu *whānui.* Using archival research the harpoon has been traced through a number of historical assemblages in which it has been involved and this has made more visible the ordinary people connected with whaling and social life in early Murihiku. Following the harpoon has revealed some aspects of how adaptive social hybridity develops through the agency of people and of things. The chapter also looks at four human actors and how their personalities, habitus and life trajectories may have influenced their agency.

Chapter seven suggests how the development of adaptive hybridity in the historical situations described might be understood and how it appears to continue to act today. The situationally adaptive form of agency previously described results in hybrid material objects and ways of doing things, hybrid ways of understanding and hybrid identities for both Europeans and Māori who were perceived by themselves and others, as being hybrid. The dynamics of this situation are described here using the perspectives of A.P.Cohen's 'self-consciousness as identity', and Marilyn Strathern's 'merographic' approach to illuminate how this hybridity may be configured. What Europeans and Maori themselves have said and how others saw them is also considered. High and low ranking people of all the ethnicities involved - and even other members of these societies *not directly* involved, may all have had multiple agentive capabilities that contributed to the changes, and this agency was not dependent only upon their traditional knowledge, habitus and personal trajectories, but upon their contingent and spontaneous re-configuration of these things when the encounters occurred, with new items, meanings and observed behaviours entering the equation. This study shows that the innovations required for the success of 'first encounters' depended most frequently upon people who were inclined to risk-taking, acting 'outside the square' and not always following their own cultural protocols 'to the letter'. They were not always the 'experts', chiefs and

captains, but many were commoners whose previous lives had required them to take risks and develop flexible life skills, to survive when resources were scarce[9].

From the Bourdieuian perspective the risk-taking behaviour pattern was part of habitus - an embodied and " durable, transposable disposition [able to be] objectively adapted to… outcomes… [often] accompanied by strategic calculation… acting as a system of cognitive and motivating structures…" (1990: 53). However, the *spontaneous scaffolding of newly observed behaviours, was an additional new component that could only have been gained from the encounter*. Changes occurred whose source was the 'other's' behaviour and understandings, and these were not part of the cultural schemas that had *informed* the habitus of the actor concerned although of course the habitus could have been a component of their scaffolding. Not all chiefs and Captains were from a privileged background. Their success in inter-cultural interactions most likely depended on the same flexible approach - part-habitus, and part-risk-taking contingent behaviour, and partly influenced by the immediate situation being experienced and observed. Recent work in artificial intelligence has emphasised how knowledge is 'scaffolded' onto pre-existing knowledge and that interaction with objects has an important role in this. Hendriks-Janssen said, "interactively emergent concepts that did not exist prior to the performance of a novel skill can be picked out and used in further scaffolding" (1996: 314-7). The objects that Māori and Europeans interacted with were polyvocal mediators and spoke for them when language and cultural understanding were deficient.



His Majesty's Colonial Cutter Mermaid

Wednesday June 18th Commences with light breezes between the North and West.

Shortly after daylight we saw natives on the beach abreast of the vessel inviting us to land, I went onshore with James Caddell his wife and Jacky Snapper, who upon this occasion of visiting their friends took care to display the liberality of the white people at Port Jackson. by dressing themselves in their best apparel.— we were received by them all sitting, and after the salutation of Tourhia was over, they eagerly enquired for what purpose we had come, I told them through the interpretation of Caddell we had come for the purpose of supplying them with tools and various other articles. for which I would take in return flax in a manufactured state; they seemed much pleased at this, calling out to some friends at a distance Maiti, Maiti é bola hō tina / very good, very good, this is a vessel for trade; —

Figure 2. Example of journal text used for research. Journal extract from Captain John Rhodolphus Kent, of Her Majesty's Colonial Cutter "Mermaid" 1823. From ATL Micro-MS-054.

CHAPTER 1

Theory and the History- Anthropology frontier

> There is no society… which does not bear the 'scars of events' nor any… in which history has sunk without trace.
> (Levi-Strauss in Braudel 1980:36)

This chapter provides a brief introduction to some issues at the history-anthropology frontier, how it developed, and some key figures in its development. The development and use of ethno-historical methods used in this thesis are discussed together with ways historians and anthropologists can collaborate. Perspectives of "History from below" and "Sub-altern Studies" are evaluated for what they might contribute to interpreting data gained from close reading of texts, as are some possible applications of theories, including the role of culture and physical environment, as forces in the dynamic contexts in which inter-cultural transactions take place.

In the eighteenth century, history, anthropology and sociology were not separate disciplines. Some historians such as Adam Smith in his "Wealth of Nations*" (*1776 [1991]) addressed social, economic and political issues and were regarded as 'philosophical' historians. From them sprung some ideas described at greater length in chapter three, concerning the influence of Enlightenment philosophies upon the interpretations and representations of Pacific peoples included in mariners' and politicians' journals during 'Western' voyages into Oceania. By the middle of the nineteenth century, incorporation of 'the social' into history was becoming overshadowed by the approach of historians like Von Ranke, who focused on the history of the state, developing a methodology that emphasised public archival records as the most objective sources of information (Burke, 2005: 3-7). This privileged state power, and from the current perspective could be regarded as a retrograde step. The voices of 'others' such as lower classes and indigenous minorities were increasingly repressed as compared with the earlier eighteenth century. An emphasis upon archival documents did introduce a more rigorous approach to data gathering, albeit that the data was biased. Awareness of this bias was highlighted, amongst others by Herbert Spencer in his famous essay *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical,* where he stated: "The biographies of monarchs… throw scarcely any light upon the science of society" (1882: 29). He considered that whilst historians focused on the nation, there was a place for comparative sociology. Sociologists and anthropologists began to separate themselves, their disciplines and

methods from those of historians, though many of them such as Frazer, Weber, and Durkheim began their careers as historians and, so to speak, 'walked the boundary'. There had always been tension between historians who preferred the 'grand picture', and those who preferred the particular, studying social dynamics as well as structures, but a situation emerged where social scientists began distinguishing their approach from other historians. This source of tension resulted in the development of a boundary between them (Burke, 2005: 8-10). Some historians also insisted that the methods and theories that anthropologists used were developed for studying non-European worlds and may not have been appropriate for the West (Cohn, 1987: 66). Burke describes a movement amongst social scientists away from the past, and a growing interest in fieldwork, naming Boas, Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski who, in contrast to Frazer for example, actually went to fieldwork destinations and lived amongst the peoples being studied. He also highlights the movement in Germany and America towards studies of contemporary urban societies, and the "founding of their own professional associations and specialized journals… [I]ndependence from history and historians was necessary to the formation of the new disciplinary identities" (2005: 11-12).

Despite tensions, some sociologists and anthropologists believed in maintaining the dialogue between anthropology and history. Amongst them were Evans- Pritchard, and also Bloch and Febvre, founders in 1928 of the French Annales School, which advocated "… a more human history", and collaboration between the disciplines. Their approach sought more emphasis on "analysis of structures" than on the "narrative of [political] events" (Burke, 2005: 14). By 1945 Annales had become a school of thought that emphasised structure-conjuncture and the study of change over the '*longue durée'* (ibid.)[10]. Braudel was Febvre's successor and in 1958 warned historians and social scientists that there was a crisis in the social sciences, due primarily to the differences in the way they conceived of time. Historians, he said, traditionally looked at short time-spans involving events or individuals, or times of very long duration where structures maintained and perpetuated themselves indefinitely. They were also very precise about "how [structures] interact and break up". In contrast, he described social scientists as concentrating on *moments* of time and repetitive cyclical situations not precisely located in time. Braudel criticised both disciplines and argued for a collaborative approach to history in which all the human sciences should come together under the banner of History (1980: 25-69)[11].

Until the 1960's then, there was tension between historians and anthropologists, originating in a desire to distinguish their disciplines, and centred on the perspective and methods they used, rather than the subject they studied. While social scientists focused on societal structures and their development, historians focused on difference and change. Additionally, history was frequently excluded from anthropological discourse, because it was seen as being implicated in the 'social evolutionism' to which Boas was so opposed. Thomas has called this a "systemic exclusion" and argues for its re-inclusion (1996 b: 18, 120). However, Burke said that around the 1960's anthropologists returning to their fieldwork sites became aware of some rapid social changes occurring in 'their' societies resulting from global economic change, and were forced to address the issue of 'change over time' (2005:17). The structure-agency debate influenced the choice of approaches and methodologies used to explain and investigate historical and social changes. The successors of the Annales School included Pierre Bourdieu, and his explorations of the structure-agency boundary in so many spheres of life are legendary[12]. The application of his views on agency, habitus and personal trajectory are matters arising throughout this thesis - especially in chapter six.

In a sense, as Nicholas Thomas has stated, the Annales School, and historians like E.P.Thompson (1963)[13] changed the way historians (and anthropologists) see history because they challenged the *aspects* studied and the *methods* used: "… unconventional sources, oral history, and critical and imaginative readings of canonical documents were required" (Thomas, 2002: 273). Amongst these was a new consideration of ritual and the 'native's point of view' as examples of such unconventional sources[14]. Anthropologists such as Dening (1980) and Nathalie Zemon Davis (1973) used these new approaches to investigate the effects of colonial processes on cross-cultural relationships[15]. Ethnohistory had therefore come of age. This was not an anthropology or sociology subsumed under 'History', as Braudel apparently advocated but in the sense that Bernard Cohn hoped for: a "… history [that] can become more historical in becoming more anthropological… anthropology [that] can become more anthropological in becoming more historical…' (1987: 42). Comaroff and Comaroff disagree, claiming they should never have been separated, because any theory of society must also be a theory of history (1992: 13). Such a theory would provide perspective and an investigative method, applicable in the kind of cross-cultural historiography attempted here, and it would acknowledge the '*endogenous* historicity' of all societies (1992: 24), which this thesis also attempts to do.

In the spirit of creating a perspective on historical events and situations that is multi-dimensional the viewpoint here is that there should be no firm distinction between history and anthropology where social history is concerned. Each gives a different perspective and it is the overlap that requires exploration. Burke suggested that it is useful to be "interested in theories rather than committed to them… [they can enable one] to become aware of problems… to find questions rather than answers…" (2005: 18). Fields of exploration overlap at their margins, and my interest is in the overlap between the fields and theories, and the marginal people occupying them - those whom Bernard Cohn has described as "the inarticulate, the deprived, the dispossessed, the exploited… women, the lumpen proletariat..." (1980: 214), because their historical voices and worlds have largely been ignored, when they could place a new interpretive perspective upon archival material. The availability of ordinary people's records can sometimes be a stumbling block, unless we permit the incorporation of oral histories and literature, songs, poetry, ritual, and genealogical material, as Nathalie.Z.Davis and E.P.Thompson have done (Thomas, 2002: 274-5). The writings of "those lacking ethnographic credentials" including early missionaries and explorers "sometimes contain reasonable synchronic ethnographic descriptions", which Thomas says have been excluded from consideration thus far, and need to be re-examined (1996 b: 15-16). Dening warns that any archives can be capable of multiple interpretations, and that we descendants, European and indigenous, cannot claim 'privileged' understandings of what they say just because they are 'our' ancestors (cited in R.White, 2000: 170).

Regarding Māori, Salmond has stated that "documentary and oral accounts illuminate the past in bits and pieces and from particular angles" (1997:14) and Tipene O'Regan has argued that *whakapapa* (genealogical material) from different *iwi* (tribes) can be used to cross-check each other when they refer to the same persons and event-connections, because of family inter-relationships between *iwi* and *hapu* (sub-tribes). Similarly, these methods, which are basically the same as those used for verification of written records in the Western academic tradition, can be used for *waiata* (songs and poems) and regional variants of *tikanga* (cultural protocols), *whaikorero* (ritual speeches), and *karakia* (prayers and incantations (1992: 24-6). Borofsky has embraced a similar viewpoint emphasising how Pacific islanders Hau'ofa, Pule and Wendt say that they are uncomfortable with "more structured forms of Western history writing" (2000: 8-9), just as some Western historians find poetry and novels used by Pacific historians problematical as history. Yet he also cites 'notable examples' of Western books where

literature and history overlap, pointing to people like the Pukapukans, for whom the performance aspect of storytelling is essential for a full understanding of history when written text is deficient in the historical data provided (ibid.). In the following chapters some of these kinds of records are used, because for Māori and some European 'others' who (at the time described) were largely unable to read/write, this literature gives an historical representation otherwise determined entirely by dominant Western colonial viewpoints. They present 'what happened' from the perceptions of those wishing to hold the balance of power, seeing their own world-view as 'true and correct'. Thus, I have defined more precisely for the Māori case and the 'class' case, the kinds of 'texts', which Bronwen Douglas referred to more generally. The following chapters reveal what the archives actually say, using Burke's "social microscope", viewing small things and situations as sites for "privileged information gathering" (2005: 42). One way these primary sources can then be interpreted is from the standpoint of "History from Below", the idea of a changing context, and in the light of what Said (1994), Ricoeur (1979), Douglas (1997) and O'Regan (2002) have said about the limitations of text as a representation of others[16].

An 'other' History

It is impossible for an anthropologist or historian to enter into a discussion of social class without employing a structural model, because the notion of class is a structural and hierarchical one. Ordinary people also employ structural models, even if they do so unconsciously. This does not, however, preclude the possibility of regarding classes as being similar to worlds - individuals may belong to multiple classes just as they can have the kinds of multiple selves Strathern has described (1991: 23-27). Neither does it preclude the possibility that individuals may use various forms of agency to subvert or manipulate their position in the hierarchy using strategies to gain power not usually available to people in their primary class. However much we consider these possibilities, and however blurred are the boundaries between them at times, in the two societies described here, one cannot deny that for those people class distinctions existed. Models are therefore useful mental tools for conceptualising some aspects of life in the arena of cross-cultural encounters in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century New Zealand.

Peter Burke describes various models referring to social class, each focussing on a different aspect of life. He says that in Durkheim's 'consensual' model, members of a class are bonded by common social interests and needs, whereas in Marx's 'conflictual'

model, social bonding between members of a class, acts for solidarity against other more/less privileged classes (Burke, 2005: 27). As already suggested, there is no reason why both these models cannot be used as tools to focus on aspects of inter-class relationships and interactions. This 'tool' could be applied to cross-cultural encounters also - providing another conceptual dimension. Models can have a functional or political flavour, eg 'capitalist' or 'socialist' models with a focus on resource distribution and productivity (Burke, 2005: 27). Ossowski (1957) and Godelier (1984) describe how Marx used the term class in different ways on different occasions, sometimes referring to two classes - exploiter and exploited - and sometimes to three - "owners of land, capital, and labour"[17]. This thesis uses it more in the sense of access to resources generally, bearing in mind that some people described belonged to more that one of these classes in different situations. As their testimonies in chapter four will confirm, class was not simply a linguistic or political term, but an experienced reality of their everyday lives and identities. Classes defined their worlds, because as E.P.Thompson said, "class [is] something which in fact *happens*… in human *relationships*" (1968:9-10, my emphasis).

My attention to 'ordinary' people in the archival material was inspired by Serge Tcherkézoff's comparison of journals of Bougainville's and La Perouse's younger crew in Samoa, and how their reports differed markedly from those of their superior officers. They noticed different things (2004: 22-67). They sometimes reported people/events in more detail than officers did, and appear to have been differently motivated and concerned with personal image. Class in this reading can therefore involve an age group or gender category - especially as one becomes aware through the investigation of their lives, that some people described were only 13-15 years old, whilst others were in their 40's. This study extends the use of the term 'class' to include reports of lower ranking crew about the 'natives', reports about each other and relationships with their officers. Thus the inter-class relationships, as well as cross- cultural ones are of interest. This means that the idea of class is used in a very broad way[18] to include age and gender relationships as well, and the thesis will show how most individuals occupied several person-positions and several ranks. A 15-year-old seaman might, for example be simultaneously of British middle class extraction and education, employed to work as an able seaman on a sealing vessel, required to carry out the same tasks as a much older, uneducated, working class sealer - and may even have become a Māori slave and later a chief. It is argued that those persons not conforming to the norms of their 'class', were able to cross 'class' and 'other' cultural boundaries more readily, and to facilitate

intercultural encounters more successfully - a phenomenon which continues to operate today in the New Zealand socio-political environment. Interactions between classes were dynamic with boundaries between them constantly shifting, and these aspects of 'class' are described in the next section of this chapter.

Two perspectives on 'position in the social hierarchy' appear to have influenced the interpretations of social interactions described in the archival material. These are 'history from below' and 'subaltern studies'. Jim Sharpe in his essay "History from Below" quoted Private William Wheeler's letters to his wife, written from the battlefield at Waterloo [1815], in which Wheeler says:

> The three days fight is over. I am safe… I shall now write… what came under my own observation… The morning of the 18th June… found us drenched with rain, benumbed and shaking with cold…

This was certainly not the perspective of the Duke of Wellington and British authorities who considered that *they* had 'won' the battle. The perspective of the low-ranking soldier was not considered in the 'grand scheme of things', which British histories of the time reflected (Sharpe, 1992: 24-5). For example Hawkesworth's account of Cook's first voyage appearing in 1771, forty-four years prior to Waterloo, also reflected the 'grand scheme' viewpoint of historical reporting. However, observations of the ordinary seamen exist, and the perspective they provide paints a very different picture of the experience. For any chronological period there is more than one history, and this aspect is elaborated further in chapter three.

As Sharpe describes, there are difficulties in writing history from below. Firstly, the earlier the time frame about which one is writing the slimmer the amount of evidence becomes, because there is less and less documentation able to be verified less and less. Secondly it is complicated by the varying and multiple identities of the people being described (1992: 26-8); for example, did Captain James Cook belong to the British middle class, because he was a naval Commander; or did he belong to the working class because he was born and raised the son of a farmer and served his time as an able seaman before the mast? It is not always clear what exactly history-from-below, is. Sharpe also points to the association of this 'take' on history, with Marxism and what Hobsbawm calls "… the growth of the labour movement." It *could* therefore apply only to the period when the labour movement was developing. However the viewpoint here is that with the perspectival approach, one should regard models such as 'history-from-below'- as 'tools for thinking with', where appropriate. As in everyday life, no piece of equipment, cultural

or otherwise, is suitable for all tasks. In any case, the period described here is well inside the time frame for the beginnings of the development of the labour movement, and also is recent enough that one can support the evidence of journals with the 'bureaucratic documentation' mentioned by Hobsbawm, just as Ladurie did for his study of mediaeval French peasants, and Ginzberg did for his Italian miller. This model is inclusive of other classes, which could be regarded as: "in opposition to it… [and] cannot be divorced from the wider considerations of social structure and social power" (Sharpe, 1991: 28-36). The 'history-from-below' perspectival approach is, therefore, implicated in the methodology adopted throughout this study, as will be elaborated on in the last section of this chapter.

As described, the study of classes cannot exist in isolation from "considerations of [the implications of] social structure and power", which occur at the interface or boundary between them, where there is potential for co-operation and conflict. The academic field addressing these issues in particular, is 'Sub-altern Studies' which Burke says, owes much to the initial influence of Italian communist Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci maintained that the 'sub-altern' classes were enrolled in their own subjugation because they were persuaded by their education to accept and participate in the status quo. He called this situation "cultural hegemony". Many Gramscian ideas were adopted and applied to Indian history by Ranijit Guha and others reacting against what they considered were erroneous élitist representations of the Indian independence situation (Burke, 2005: 89). Guha describes "sub-altern" as meaning "of inferior rank" and being subordinate in any way because of age, gender, caste, class or "office" (1982: vii-3). This terminology would appropriately describe many actors in this thesis, and is less problematical in terms of Sharpe's criticisms of "History from Below". Because of it's primary use for describing the situation in colonised minority groups it raises other critical issues that can illuminate the cross-cultural situation for other peoples such as Māori as they were becoming colonised, often by 'lower class' Europeans. Guha emphasises that studying the sub-altern exposes the élite, and 'élitist interpretations' of their own role to critical evaluation (ibid.). Māori too, had their own élitist interpretations, as did the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues (op.cit.), so aspects of inter-class *and* 'cross- cultural' interactions can be illuminated from the sub-altern studies perspective.

Subaltern philosophy also includes ideas from Barthes, Lacan, Foucault and Derrida, and addresses issues of hegemony and resistance. The subaltern group is mainly interested in exposing how hegemony and resistance impact upon and influence the action of peasants, and the way that historical representations are affected by them. Burke

suggests that Bourdieu's "symbolic violence" of the state culture is an example, where subordinate groups are forced to accept their own culture (eg. their linguistic dialect) as illegitimate, thereby becoming disempowered by loss of their own cultural capital. The alternatives would be to negotiate or resist. Burke also says that "slaves, serfs… farm hands… may choose to resist rather than negotiate…" and cites James Scott saying that subalterns have a variety of "weapons of the weak" such as "pilfering, feigned ignorance… foot dragging… sabotage… arson" etc., and also that resistance may involve "mimicry - with differences that may be read from above as mistakes, but viewed from below look like mockery" (Burke 2005: 89-93). The 'subaltern' model of how the class boundary is negotiated with respect to inequalities of power and resources is a useful one for clarifying inter-cultural and inter-class interactions in pre-1840 New Zealand. In chapter three these concepts are used to help shed some light upon issues such as perceived 'theft' and 'violence', which were important components of some early inter-cultural encounters in New Zealand.

Dynamic Contexts

There is a strong sense of action and dynamism in the primary sources used to research this project - a feeling that the mariners, missionaries, government officials, traders and Māori people were actually there, or knew others who were actually there. They felt involved. They saw themselves as positioned observers. The point made by Pierre Bourdieu that "…participant observation is… a contradiction in terms" (1990: 34) is taken, but considering that these people were not pretending to be objective social scientists and would never have used the term, it is never-the-less a useful description of how they represent themselves - as people who both experienced and observed the action. It is therefore appropriate in this contextual section to apply to them, as well as to myself Roy Dilley's warning that "we must never lose sight of the fact that a claim about context is precisely that - an articulation concerning a set of connections and disconnections thought to be relevant to a specific agent that is socially and historically situated, and to a particular purpose" (1998: 39). Choosing which were the connections and disconnections, agents, social and historical situations, and purposes, were important tasks in this research. These same choices are also important in its presentation as a thesis. There are therefore two kinds of context to be considered - the context(s) in which the encounters and interactions between Māori and Europeans happened, and the context in which they are now framed or represented. This section of the chapter describes the particular

approach to the context of interactions, in the light of what others have said about it. Its relationship with text and the representation of 'others' will be discussed in the following section.

The idea of context as used in the first sense, contains the *spatial/geographical*; the *frame* of Bateson (1973) and Goffman (1974); the *environment* described by Scharfstein (1989) and incorporates the idea of *process* as in Gestalt theory - all of which are described by Dilley (1989: 5). The best analogy for this viewpoint is probably an ecological one, where the "…articulation… of connections and disconnections…" described above is not bounded and incorporates a set of relations, and processes, which are dynamic but not always in equilibrium. It includes the physical and biological environments as well as the social, and provides an interactive background for social action and interaction. Dilley quotes Goodwin & Duranti who support an interactionist stance: "the capacity of human beings to dynamically reshape the context that provides organization for their actions within the interaction itself… [and]… individual participants can actively attempt to shape context in ways that further their own interests". Context is created by social action as well as influencing it (1992: 5-6, in Dilley 1989: 19). In other words interaction makes the context dynamic and makes possible the operation of power and cultural change. Chapter five argues that 'agents' in the interaction can be non-human and inanimate *mediators*, and can include contextual elements of the physical environment such as mountains, rivers and the sea. These contextual elements also had another role, in that they provided environmental constraints, and opportunities - which influenced the possibilities for and actualities of social interactions. Hooper (2006: 17) emphasises this, describing how "New Zealand, being temperate, presented special challenges… familiar staples… did not flourish…" which was particularly so on the coasts of Murihiku and South Westland. Cross-cultural encounters like those between Māori and European involved multiple dynamic contexts. Before we begin visualising Sahlins and the "structure of the conjuncture" (1985), I emphasise that context is not seen here as a monumental structure that absolutely controls what happens, but more as something that flows, a dynamic setting operating in the background, and used by the agents that interact with it and partly control it. The same context could be seen, understood and interacted with differently by different agents, and as Rapport has said can [also] "become shared through communication and interaction between" the agents. It is thus generative and emergent (Dilley, 1989: 35, 38).

Except in passing, and despite the references to cross-cultural encounters, where 'culture' fits into the context has not been explained. Surely writing about society and identity, must include a consideration of culture? Chapter two elaborates upon the importance to Māori of land, the physical and biological environment, and its role in genealogy, cosmology and the Māori conception of time. In their physical dimensions these 'things' are substantial resources, and in their symbolic dimensions are, in this reading, components of cultural force as defined by Ortner. She considers that culture 'operates largely as a pool of symbolic resources upon which people draw, and over which people struggle, in the course of social and political differentiation and conflict" (1990: 59). Compare this notion with Comaroff & Comaroff's definition of culture: "… the semantic space, the field of signs and practices in which human beings construct and represent themselves and others, and hence their societies and histories… a historically situated, historically unfolding ensemble of signifiers in action… a shifting semantic field… of symbolic production and material practice… (1992: 27-8). So for the Comaroffs, culture is a *field* corresponding very much to the contextual structure, envisioned here, and for Ortner it is an *operational* structure, with force and power via the agents who operate it. There does not appear to be a conflict between the two views. In this reading they supplement each other, equating to the dynamic context with which this section began. As will be shown in succeeding chapters, the human agents who participated in the cross- cultural encounters described, acted within this kind of context, were constrained and enabled by their cultural schemas, reflected upon them and manipulated them, as Ortner suggests (1990: 88-91). It is claimed here that, over and above their cultural schemas and habitus, there are additional components to the agentive capacity of human actors, however. These consist, as is argued in Chapters five and six, in their use of the separate agency of objects, their spontaneous, situated contingent action, and scaffolding of new behaviours and knowledge.

Text, Context, and the Representation of 'others'

Three aspects of text and context are considered here. Firstly, in this study there are two kinds of text, which are already representations, no matter how objective they claim to be. There are the texts from which the research information was obtained, which are primarily archival documents, diaries, ship's logs, journals, letters, reports, early ethnographies and official statements. All have their own bias depending upon the position, trajectory, and habitus of the writer who chose the context in which to set

them[19]. Secondly, more recent histories have re-represented these documents, selecting some and excluding others, editing and giving a new bias for publication, thus producing yet another new context. Thirdly, this attempt to incorporate them all into my interpretation creates yet another new context from a multi-perspectivist approach. This applied to the South Island material, has given insights from a fresh reading of the manuscripts using new approaches to the agency of people and objects from different cultural perspectives, including Māori. 'Hindsight is a wonderful thing' and 'many heads are better than one'. Additional to these two old dicta, many cultural and disciplinary perspectives are also better than one. As Stephen (Tipene) O'Regan has said, we have to bear in mind the purpose for which a text has been written, because that forms part of it's context and determines what has been selected and what has been omitted for presentation (1992: 24-6)[20]. This issue is particularly relevant when one is seeking to represent the subaltern perspective, and although the following comment refers to Maori, it could equally well apply to subaltern Europeans: "Situations are forgotten, names are changed, and quite often as history evolves the Senior lines are changed, are conveniently forgotten or manipulated so that everyone becomes a Chief. There are no commoners" (Jim Gray, in Steedman, n.d.: i).

There is therefore no apology here for writing yet another account of human interaction in Te Wai Pounamu. High and low ranking people of all the ethnicities involved - and even other members of these societies *not directly* involved, may all have had multiple agentive capabilities that contributed to the changes, and this agency was not dependent only upon their traditional knowledge, habitus and personal trajectories, but upon their contingent and spontaneous re-configuration of these things when the encounters occurred, with new items, meanings and observed behaviours entering the equation. This study shows that the innovations required for the success of 'first encounters' depended most frequently upon people who were inclined to risk-taking, acting 'outside the square' and not always following their own cultural protocols 'to the letter'. They were not always the 'experts', chiefs and captains, but many were commoners whose previous lives had required them to take risks and develop flexible life skills, to survive when resources were scarce[21].

Adrian Bennett argues for a re-examination of primary texts to try to overcome the bias of sequential re-representations, and this has been done wherever possible (2005: 62). Supplementary use of Māori oral literature is an attempt to 'take on board' the discourse of subaltern groups including Māori, other ethnic minorities, working class,

women and children, slaves, and the colonised who have been under-represented in older histories of this region, and they have been the conscious 'filters' used in determining context. Sadly, it has been impossible to remove the filters that have already been applied by bureaucratic 'others' of our colonial past, but an attempt has been made to compensate by applying insights gained from contemporary Māori practices that bear the stamp of those reported in the archival material. Collection of such contemporary material is also fraught with representational difficulties because of contemporary political power struggles.

Members of each *iwi* and class are keen to position their public views strategically in terms of collective and individual power, as Borofsky says for the Pacific more generally. However, this should not prevent us from aiming for objectivity, approaching more closely by "...negotiation, involving conversations across divergent perspectives, with challenges and counter challenges" (2000: 10). Borofsky refers to oral interactions, and would probably include discursive textual interactions also. Ricouer highlights the increased possibility of misinterpretation of text that is addressed to anyone who can read, and is polyvocal because it lacks visual cues. Once text leaves its author it can have unintended consequences (1979: 80-90). From the anthropologist's point of view, as Aijmer said, there are epistemological problems associated with ethnography. Anthropology's "founding fathers, having taken to the field to subvert Western imperialisms with non - Western particularities, now stand accused of having served the cause of imperialism… have struggled with a mode of enquiry that appears… uniquely revelatory and irredeemably ethnocentric" (in Comaroff & Comaroff: 1992: 7). However, it is all we have and we must continue to do the best we can to record what we observe of people's behaviours, trying to interpret and give them contexts, explaining the social power relations and what they say about themselves (ibid: 10-11).

Comaroff & Comaroff (1992: 11,15) warn of the ethical dilemmas of representations thus produced - especially as they may affect subalterns and others who have minimal cultural capital if they are misused or misinterpreted by those holding the balance of power. Even historical investigations can have ongoing effects in the present. Bearing in mind that for this investigation, many of the representations thus far published have perpetuated the imbalance and power relationships of past eras, it seems appropriate to raise the issues of subalterns for this context. As Gramsci has said, the two worlds of power interacted with each other and it is *between* them that social history is made. They both need to be examined. None is superior or can take the moral high ground and we

should not "arrogate to ourselves an exclusive, emancipatory, suprahistorical purchase on reality" (Comaroff &Comaroff, 1992: 17). It is true that Ann Salmond's two books, *Between Worlds* (1997) and *Two Worlds* (1991) have represented the Māori world view and European misrepresentations of it, but she has not specifically addressed in quite the same way the issues raised here regarding subalterns, their exchange objects and their agentive power. I do this in full awareness that a further discourse is being raised, that like other current discourses, has the possibility of being taken up by either or both of the parties being discussed here - European and Māori, and being used for construction or re-construction of past or future historical narratives that may also be a 'force to be reckoned with' in the political power dynamics of the present day (Said, 1984: 266, 276). At least the future possibilities may incorporate *all* those who are known to have participated and continue to participate, in the ongoing 'first encounters', which we continue to observe and experience.

Ethno-historical Methods

In 1986 Nancy Farriss asked " How do you reconstruct past systems of meaning… when you can neither participate in nor directly observe the lives of the people?" (in Appadurai, 1986: ix). The answer has been partially provided by the use of ethno-historical methods. Those who participated in the debates around, and development of these methods are: Greg Dening, Bronwen Douglas, Ganananth Obeyesekere, Marshall Sahlins, Anne Salmond, and Serge Tcherkézoff. Dening's paper on the value of ethnohistorical evidence helped define the field, but said that it: "does not mean… a discipline independent of both history and anthropology and endowed… with a distinct methodology. It merely bands together those with an interest in the contact of literate societies and those who hope that the questions anthropologists have learned to ask of living cultures may be asked about the past…" (1966: 34). Dening's reflection on his work in the Pacific revealed that there are many societies who are close to their pre-[European] history, "making it more… personal than any normal prehistory based on archaeology alone" (ibid: 30). Although this definition is problematical, because of the apparent implicit assumption by use of the words 'illiterate' and 'pre-historic', that having no written language means there is no literature, it does suggest the possibility of using present-day ethnography to illuminate past 'ways of being' from knowledge of what he calls the "living culture" (ibid.). From a perspective of the present, so-called 'illiterate' societies were not illiterate at all. They were highly literate - had genealogies,

oratorical formulae, chants, poetry, songs and dance, as well as carvings and other art works that can be read and performed as texts. Dening highlights the difficulties of using early textual sources like journals and logs of mariners, which are used here. Historians see these problems differently from anthropologists and the central issue in their perception is that societies are continuously changing, albeit that the rate of change may vary. Historians, says Dening are "deeply conscious of change" but do not trust evidence that may have been distorted by interaction with Europeans (ibid: 29). It is as though they need a constant baseline for their data, and fail to acknowledge the obvious situation that any baseline data are themselves subject to contemporary change, including, in this case in interaction with 'other groups'. As Hau'ofa says, "[O]ur cultures have always been hybrid and hybridising, for we have always given to and taken from our neighbours and others we encounter' (2000: 456). Conversely, anthropologists have difficulty in accepting the use of 'a priori' methods of interpretation that historians use when they "impose" models or "organizational principles" on their evidence. They need to incorporate in their interpretations a consideration of social dynamism (Dening, 1966: 30). Dening reveals other deficiencies in early textual data also. The problems of dealing with myth will be addressed in the next chapter. The problems associated with the visits from which the texts were generated include the brevity of the visits which sometimes amounted to only one day or a few hours, the fact that the 'native' language was not known, or was known incompletely, and the problem of interpreters who were unskilled or intervened in the translation with interests of their own or those whom they represented. The aim is, to use these texts 'fruitfully despite their limitations' (ibid: 26-7).

Marshall Sahlins (1993) in his article "Goodbye to Tristes Tropes: Ethnography in the Context of Modern World History" reported on the development of ethno-history as a "different kind of ethnographic prose" aiming to combine "the field experience of a community with an investigation of its archival past", which he has done in *Anahulu* (1992). He cited Bernard Cohn, John and Jean Comaroff and Terry Turner as people who have incorporated into their ethnography the ideas of time and change which Dening mentioned, and of which he approved. Additionally, he claimed that these dimensions having previously been omitted, some peoples including Polynesians have been "slighted" but have "known how to defy… [this] by taking cultural responsibility for what was afflicting them" (1993: 1-2). He thus acknowledges the need to incorporate transformation and time into the ethnography and even that recent ethnography could be used to clarify these, but there is still the implication of the "structure of culture"

providing the mechanisms of change. The concept of critical close reading of texts, and using recent ethnography reflexively as a kind of hermeneutic to tease out some of the issues of agency thus revealed, does not seem to feature.

Obeyesekere in his book *Cannibal Talk* (2005) recommended "deconstructing" colonial texts like mariners' and missionaries' journals by close critical reading that is somehow similar to that used here. However Obeyesekere's version, as Māori would say, has an implied *kaupapa* (agenda). The object is to "deconstruct" text(s) and then "restore" them by demonstrating their "multiple meanings". He claims this is an ethical project which he, as an indigenous person, has taken on to "restore… self-worth and integrity" to those whom he considers have been maligned by prior textual representations of them. Sahlins criticised such "deconstruction" considering it to be very selective, using only a few texts to create a one-sided story, when plenty of texts would attest otherwise. Furthermore, he shows that in several examples describing Fijian cannibalism there are multiple narratives, which all detail the same event but differently, a fact that would confirm their authenticity. He also raises the issue of the political implications of narratives constructed for "ethical" purposes, since this word, like other words can mean different things in different discourse once they are 'let loose' from their original author (2003: 3-5; cf. Ricoeur, 1979: 78-80). This raises a further ethical issue not addressed by Obeyesekere.

In her Melanesian and New Caledonian work, the historian Bronwen Douglas used close reading of archival texts in a different way than Obeyesekere, looking for insights that close reading can provide: "traces of past presents… inscribed in texts: written or spoken words, memories, gestures, decorations, objects, buildings, landscapes, visual images… as vehicles for representation…" (1998: 17). If we regard all these items as texts, the way they are used, in cross-cultural encounters and elsewhere in society, can provide insights into the role of strategy and contingency, collective or individual decision making in "deflecting, appropriating and exercising power" by any of the participants (1998: 281). Douglas is aware of the biases in colonial texts highlighted by Obeyesekere but says that biases can help rather than hinder interpretation from the ethnohistorical viewpoint (1998: 124-33). Douglas has been criticised by Lansdown for ignoring the fact that the "… causes and relationships... [that] help constitute the 'particular situations' in which the actors engage are in turn illuminated by what people did. If that is not so the expression "*what it meant* has little meaning" (2006: 23, my emphasis). Because of the limited number of indigenous written accounts, with which to

compare the 'western' records, in this project other indigenous 'texts' such as objects and the reported behaviours associated with them have been used as interpretive tools.

Serge Tcherkézoff, working in the Eastern Pacific, particularly Samoa, has extended the use of close reading and comparison of archival records by comparing the insights thus gained, with those obtained from recent fieldwork and personal experience: "I strongly advocate the potential… of *extrapolating backwards* from more recent ethnographic accounts, as well as from those of the 19th century", especially where the ethnographer had used the local language (2004: 198-203), and where the context can be shown to have not changed markedly. For example the structure of Samoan ceremonial houses has changed only slightly since d'Urville drew them in 1842, and Tcherkézoff feels justified in such cases, in extrapolating from recent Samoan representations to interpret historical data about houses. Obviously, if absence of change cannot be demonstrated, then this method would be inappropriate (ibid.). The method, when used appropriately, addresses the concern that historians have about anthropologists not dealing with the dynamics of socio-cultural change (which Dening mentions), because it enables the ethnographer to choose which contexts can be appropriately applied to his observations of social dynamics-in-action in the past. Where the only written records are European ones this method can help illuminate them to some extent, from the indigenous viewpoint. It also acknowledges that both indigenous and European narratives need to be 'scrutinised for how they were constructed', that all cultures are changed either directly or in a secondary way by encounters with other cultures, and that the interpretations resulting become history (2004: 198-203).

Likewise Salmond has used insights from her knowledge of Māori *tikanga* (custom) and epistemology supported by her instruction in Māori philosophy, from the respected *kaumātua* (elder) Eruera Stirling, to interpret aspects of early inter-cultural encounters in New Zealand. She too has used close reading of early journals and narratives combined with more recent knowledge to illuminate the past by 'extrapolating backwards' in the way that Tcherkézoff has done (1997: 9-10, 517).

In line with Dening's suggestion that a variety of textual data can be used as historical evidence, and in combination with Tcherkézoff's use of recent ethnographical insights, I have added a component of Latourian actor network thinking to follow a particular historical object through transformations in its social and historical trajectories, so "digging more deeply into sources for information the authors did not consciously

impart" (cf. Farriss, op.cit: x)[22]. The source is a whaling harpoon and its associated social contacts including living people, textual and oral narratives from the past and present.

Methodology used

'Doing' ethnography and historiography requires the gathering of fragments from historical worlds and assembling them in contexts " without losing their fragile uniqueness and ambiguity". The best way to achieve this, say the Comaroffs, is to understand the social processes, which enable things to happen and which form human subjects. They argue that, " Save in the assertions of our own culture… that have long justified the colonial impulse, there is no great gulf between "tradition" and "modernity"… If such distinctions do not hold up it follows that the modes of discovery associated with them - ethnography for "traditional" communities, history for the modern world, past and present - also cannot be sharply drawn (1992: 6, 31). Acknowledging this philosophical stance makes it possible to approach 'first encounters' now and in the past with a mind open to the possibility that the past gives insights into the present, as the present gives insights into the past. Those "fragments from historical worlds" may perhaps be 'assembled' using hindsight - insights from the world of the present about the functioning of social interactions, processes of conceptualisation, cultural worlds and the agency of people and things. But first one has to find the fragments.

The methods for this project involved three phases - investigative, analytical, and representational. All are entangled with difficulties that come from mining texts for data, and most have been discussed previously in this chapter. Remembering that the main object of this investigation is to find out how the early cross-cultural encounters in Te Wai Pounamu were experienced, understood and influenced by participants of subordinate classes and how they contributed to cultural change, a summary the main aspects of the method used follows:

A. Investigative phase

The tasks:

a) To find, by close reading these fragments that Bronwen Douglas calls "texted traces" - fragments that could reveal anything about what social life was like for the sometimes very blurry historical figures described (1998:14). They were predominantly Māori slaves, commoners and chiefs, European, American, Indian, Pacific Islander and Māori sailors, ships officers and captains, traders, sealers, and whalers, mostly men and some women. Any 'fragments' relating to early encounters, and the relationships

between, subalterns and their 'others', and the context in which the meetings took place were gathered, including reference to objects exchanged, given, or taken. The localities were in the South Island of New Zealand and the time period was from 1769 when James Cook arrived with his men in the Endeavour, until approximately 1840, around the time of the major colonising projects, and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.[23]

b) To seek out ethnographic material, which might shed light upon and enable a better interpretation of the 'fragments'- especially those of the 'subaltern' variety- which Bronwen Douglas describes a being 'sedimented' in the texts (1998:301). This involved extensive 'trawling through' the manuscript databases of the aforementioned libraries, referring to early, published books, eg *Savage's Account of New Zealand in 1805.* Many of these contain early accounts of Māori customary practices, but interestingly, with close reading, information about European customary practices can also be found 'sedimented' in them. Data of this kind was also collected. Additionally more recent Māori practices in the same kinds of 'first contact' situations have been observed closely in real life and the media, with the view that they too may bear traces of past 'ways of being' which may help shed some interpretive light upon the past and its intersubjective interactions and social meanings.

c) To observe and trace out the provenance and life histories of early exchange objects in Museums, Marae and private collections, and to gather information about their historical and social connections, symbolism and agency via catalogues, archaeological reports, and personal discussion with curators, owners and caretakers.

d) To seek out background material regarding the personal histories lives and times of the some participants, and theoretical aspects of subalternity, the British Working Classes, the Enlightenment, Pacific exploration, British Colonial affairs, gifting and exchange, agency & identity issues. This has had to be selective and in this material I have specifically looked for ideas and theories, which might enable me to argue for the 'history-in-the round'. All published works referred to for information about personal histories have tended to valorise their subjects, but as with the primary manuscripts, efforts have been made to sift the 'direct observational data' from that which is already 'interpreted' or embellished. An endeavour has been made to understand these people in a relativistic way ie. in terms of their own times and locations.

B. Analytical phase

The tasks:

a) To assess primary manuscript data as a whole - looking for patterns of similarity between them for the 'classes' and ethnicities being investigated. Additionally, looking for the exceptions - marginal behaviours, people and objects who/which did not seem to fit the 'norm' for their society and times.

b) To evaluate what the primary data says about material transactions and behaviours in terms of what early ethnographies describe about contemporary Māori and European cultural practices. Again, looking for variations and similarities of interpretations amongst the early observers (including Māori) regarding cultural practices – especially reports of regional variation, and practices that may be specific to the South Island and those that might be more universal within the Māori context.

c) To repeat this procedure for exchange objects - looking for regional and 'national' patterns, evaluating symbolic meanings and agency that each may have had, in the light of their current and former contexts. Context here means how they are described as having been used, and symbolic meanings they are described by the current owners and recent theorists as possessing. The idea is to use 'things' as a window on the past- and a way of perceiving the agency and conceptual worlds of their owners and former owners, and their role in social change.[24]

d) To form some impressions of the times and conditions the visiting explorers lived and wrote their accounts in, so as to read more clearly 'between the lines' their reports and interpretations of their Māori and subaltern worlds.

C. Representational phase

The task:

To write an honest, reflexive report on the readings of contemporary primary manuscripts relating to encounters between Māori and Europeans in Te Wai Pounamu in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Additionally to interpret these manuscripts as a collective archive reflecting as closely as possible the actions, possible motivations, and strategies for dealing with change that were utilised by people who met each other on our beaches, and whose fragmented stories I have endeavoured to piece together from archival manuscripts, published historical and ethnographic texts, material artifacts and contemporary cultural evidence.

> My general intent is… to display and exploit the ethnographic potential of contemporary colonial texts to throw light on particular indigenous strategies for handling problematic… experiences, deflecting, appropriating and exercising power in cross cultural encounters, translating and domesticating the esoteric and the exotic; tackling calamity and death.
> (Bronwen Douglas, 1998: 281)

Summary

This chapter has backgrounded the tension between historical and social science approaches to history and argues for a multiperspectival approach to data- gathering and interpretation. The approaches taken to text and context have also been described as have the use of the ethnohistorical methodology of Dening, Douglas and Tcherkézoff as it is applied in this thesis.

Chapter two discusses the relationship between physical and social environments in the early encounters in Murihiku demonstrating that they are linked, and that for Māori people, the physical is embedded in the social and vice versa. It is unlikely that at first the European visitors would have had any insight into this, though it would have influenced their encounters and transactions with Māori.

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[1] Expert in craft and ritual.

[2] Closing statement/Summing up/ Farewell.

[3] In times to come, which come down from the future as well as the past.

[4] Ahearn defines agency as "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" and that rather than just seeing it as free will or resistance, it would be useful to consider where it is located, whether it belongs to humans only, individuals or collectivities, and the different ways that it may be expressed as power, intention, opposition etc.

[5] Sometimes spelt Topaa/Topea. A Maori chief who boarded Endeavour at Totaranui (Ship cove) in 1770, greeted and spoke with Tupaia & escorted Cook to Hippah Island. See H & J Mitchell (2004:187).

[6] Indians paid at one third the rate of Europeans. See chapter three.

[7] See Anderson (1998: 194-6).

[8] Cf. Tapsell (1997: 362); Tchérkzoff (2002: 28); Henare, (2008: 47-52).

[9]As Lord Rutherford said of his early experiments in New Zealand "We haven't got much money, so we are going to have to think" (in New Scientist, 14/7/2004:48).

[10] See:www.generation-online.org/h/hannalesschool.htm accessed 11/9/2008

[11] This thesis takes the view that both moments in time and the *long durée* are relevant to the situations of early Māori-European contact histories, which, viewed through Hau'ofa's Polynesian lens are on-going today (See Introduction).

[12] P. Bourdieu (1990: 53-6) Habitus is a system of "durable transposable dispositions" internalised by practice and experience throughout the life "trajectory". It includes the possibility for variability of action based upon "pre-adapted" strategies that inform contingent reponses in new situations. This allows for some agentive action that is determined by the structure- *habitus*.

[13] See Chapter 3 where Thompson's views are discussed in more detail.

[14]Cf. Clifford Geertz (1983) "From the Native's Point of View" considers how Javanese, Balinese and Moroccans see themselves as persons and are contextualised in different ways accordingly.

Victor Turner (1969) *The Ritual Process* considers the processual nature of social dramas with ritual aspects that influence the exercise of power within these dramas.

Malinowski (1953) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* provides a fieldwork method that attempts to engage objectively as a "positioned observer" with those being studied.

[15] Ibid. Thomas.

[16] Said (1994: *270-276*) *Orientalism*- texts can be hegemonic because they use other texts selectively, "affiliate with other works", involve the agency of the author, contribute to wider discourse, and those represented in it may even then use it reflexively upon themselves.

Ricouer (1979: 75-90) "The Model of Text: Meaningful Action considered as Text" - texts 'fix' discourse but how text is read may not reflect the intention of the author of the discourse or of the text. It lacks the visual cues of the spoken word, and author, text and reader thus have a separate agency of their own, giving the text plurivocality.

Douglas (1998: 3-16) *Across the great Divide* - reading ethno-historical texts requires critical and reflexive attention to the political and discursive environments in which they were written.

T.O'Regan (2002) "Old Myths and New Politics"- histories, including traditional ones are "recorded in [a] particular frame for a particular purpose" and their authentication depends very much on the reliability and ability of the transcriber and translator.

[17] See Burke (2000: 52-33) *History and Social Theory, second edition*.

[18] Not so much in the Marxian sense, as in the sense in which it is used by E.P.Thompson (1968: 9)- to indicate the experience of being 'inferior' or 'superior' with respect to other members of the social hierarchy. "[C]lass happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared) feel and articulate the identity of their interests, as against other men whose interests are different from… theirs".

[19] As O'Regan shows (op.cit) all writings are politically positioned.

[20] Cf. Tau & Anderson (2008: 17)"… almost no history is a chronicle of actuality, and… all history needs to be understood from varying perspectives." Also cf. Olssen (1992: 76).

[21]As Lord Rutherford said of his early experiments in New Zealand "We haven't got much money, so we are going to have to think" (in New Scientist, 14/7/2004:48).

[22] See chapter six "The Net of Tahu" for application of Latour's method.

[23] The texts containing the fragments were contemporary ship's logs, journals, voyage narratives, British Admiralty, Colonial and missionary records, and some more recent translations of French and Russian ship's logs and journals. Many of these were read from microfilm copies at the Alexander Turnbull library, Wellington, and/or transcripts and originals at the Hocken library, Dunedin, and the MacMillan Brown library, Christchurch. Some of the journals were also available as edited, published works.

[24] Cf. Henare (2007) *Thinking through Things.*

High Country Herald photo (1987)

Figure 3. Aoraki, his brothers, and grandson Tuterakiwhanoa. Illustration of carving designed and executed by Cliff Whiting to commemorate the centenary of National Parks in New Zealand. The carving is located at Park headquarters, Mt Cook. It illustrates the relationship between Ngai Tahu-Kati Mamoe and their ancestors who are part of the land (Aoraki- Mt Cook).

CHAPTER 2

Land as a social actor[25]

E ka waka! e ka mana! e ka reo!
E ka huihui takata!
Ko Aoraki te mauka,
Ko Te Wai Pounamu te whenua,
Ko ka wai rere huka te moana,
Tahupotiki te takata.
Ko Kai Tahu te iwi e mihi atu nei
(Riki Te Mairaki Ellison-Taiaroa, 1988)

O canoes! O powers! O voices!
O gatherings of people
Aoraki is the mountain,
Te Wai Pounamu is the land,
The snow- flowing rivers the sea,
Tahupotiki the man.
Kai Tahu are the people who greet you

With the intention of explaining some discursive and epistemological understandings of this natural environment that Māori people brought with them to their encounters with Europeans, this chapter addresses the relationships of people and land and argues that land and sea are implicated in human sociality. This can be demonstrated linguistically[26], from archival manuscripts and documentary evidence, from the everyday and ritual use of objects, and the way they have been and are exchanged. The explanation is not only a matter of environmental resources and their distribution, but also involves perception, emotional attachment, personal identity and situated action. Land and sea both constitute a physical and emotional resource base. Thoughts, emotions and ideas are real and woven into the fabric of our social lives, literally and metaphorically, as chapter six will describe. *How* our social lives interact with landscape may be different for people of varying ethnicity, but even in the 'global' world they are significant for all of us. Understanding cross-cultural encounters in Te Wai Pounamu in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, therefore involves exploring relationships with the land of Europeans and of Māori in the Te Wai Pounamu of those times.

People-land relationships are an epistemological matter of time, geographical and cosmological space conceptualisation in different cultures so it is therefore necessary to compare 'Polynesian/ Māori' concepts of time (referred to earlier in relation to Hau'ofa's Pacific visions), with 'Western' ones. A comparison of the human geography and socio-political focus at the time of the first encounters also needs to be made. Both these perspectives then provide some possible contextual background to the encounters as they were occurring. This particular discussion about land and social life also exposes some methodological problems consequential to of the layers of translation and representation, which ensue from use by European and indigenous agents of their cultural schemas as resources for political postioning as Ortner and Sewell have described (Ortner, 1990: 85;

Sewell, 1992: 19). The issue of land and sociality as they are represented in the 'Māori' context is described together with how it may have been in the 18-19th centuries, and how it is seen now. The aim of a 'history-in-the-round' is addressed from Polynesian universalist and Māori particular perspectives. Documentation from the past is combined with 'hindsight' informed by the present. The political climate of 'land rights' in Te Wai Pounamu makes some of these matters very visible, and will be discussed in chapter six.

Pierre Bourdieu has said that:

> every culture, every group of people who recognise themselves as a collectivity has theories about the world and their place in it: models of how the world is… of how the world ought to be, of human nature, of cosmology… they are about *doing* as much as they are about *knowing*… only insofar as one does things is it possible to know about things (1977: 96-7).

This applies to all, including Māori chiefs and commoners, European captains and sailors. Since ethnographers and historians are also social beings, this is one reason why the ethno- historical approach adopted here can provide insights into the epistemological worlds of our historical and ethnic 'others'. Anne Salmond and Serge Tcherkézoff in their own respective Māori and Samoan experiences have been able to learn from *practice* some of the world-views of their Polynesian 'others' and apply this *knowledge* in the interpretation of historical material as is outlined in chapter one. Some insights into the Māori-European case provided by Salmond's work on Māori Epistemology are described in the section that follows (1985).

Māori epistemology

Salmond gained some of her knowledge from personal experience as a pākehā *tauira* (student) of the Whānau-Apanui elder Eruera Stirling, but has also investigated some debates that were current amongst Māori thinkers in the period 1840-60, obtaining her information from such people as the early ethnographer Elsdon Best and from Māori and European manuscripts of that time. She formed the opinion that for Māori, *Mōhiotanga* (knowledge gained by regular learning) and *Mātauranga* (reliable knowledge) are virtually the same thing. Ancestral knowledge and power that was accessible through it, was called *Wānanga*, a term used today to describe schools of learning, as in "Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha" (University of Canterbury), and also for tribal '*kaupapa Māori kura'* which continue to teach esoteric and genealogical knowledge in a way similar to that of the past. Tribal traditions vary in their particularities, but Best states from one tradition, that the original "*Whare wānanga*" called "Rangiātea" was located in the 'uppermost of the twelve heavens', and the first one on earth was called "*Wharekura*". It

contained the three baskets of knowledge obtained by Tane from the Supreme Being (1974:70)[27]. The term is also used to describe meetings at which *nga mea tuku iho* (ancestrally derived skills) such as weaving, carving and esoteric knowledge are passed on. Learning was achieved through the use of the senses - eyes, ears, and the *ngākau* (mind-heart) was what 'understood'. *Wānanga* is the knowledge relevant to this discussion about land, because it is linked to the ancestors and gods. For a man the head was what connected him to his descent lines making the head *tapu*. Women were connected to the descent lines through the *whare tangata* (uterus) and the *whenua* (placenta - which also means land). The power deriving from the ancestors and gods "came to rest within the body in the *mauri*… [which] protected the individual's *hau*… or breath of life…". Through ritual, people tried to capture the *mana atua* (mana/power of the gods) to maintain their lives and that of the living world. Amongst the aspects of *wānanga* knowledge that were essential for trying to utilise this power were *whakapapa* (genealogical history) *karakia* (prayers/ incantations), and knowledge of the *pae* or threshold between earth and sky, dark and light, which is inhabited by humans (cosmological knowledge). This knowledge was transmitted to "high-born boys…chosen for their intelligence and memory skills". The learning took place in the *tapu Whare Wānanga* on winter nights for about five years. Each one had a particular curriculum and procedures of its own, but they all studied cosmology, the relationships between humans, ancestors and gods, and how ritual could be used to "harness [their power] for [human] survival." These aspects of knowledge were *tapu* (sacred) and just as the procedures for transmitting them varied, so the 'cosmogonic theories' also varied between districts and tribes, but there were common threads. Although this is not now the case, genealogies were probably not taught in the *whare wānanga*, although many of the rote learning skills for their acquisition would have been. At that time genealogy was aired in *whaikōrero* on the *marae.* It was 'not particularly secret' although now as a result of the workings of the Land Court and [the Waitangi Tribunal claims] it has become an item of power that is more closely guarded (Salmond, 1985: 240-50). Ngoi Pewhairangi of Ngati Porou has described how she was taught "…Māori things involve the whole of nature… They don't actually teach you… when you're asleep in your room on your own, they're singing waiatas [sic] or reciting genealogies… before you realise it you've learned to recite too, and you've learned the words of a certain song… by heart" (in King, 1985: 7-10).

Smith also describes how ordinary youths learned much of the genealogical and social connections between land and people on hunting trips and food-gathering expeditions.

They not only absorbed it, but they were actively taught about burial places, rights to bird-snaring trees and cultivation, and battle sites (1948: 53). The names of people and places significant to *iwi*, such as rivers, fishing grounds, mountains, and sites of significant encounters are memorialised in tribal genealogies, carvings, and songs that *link the social world*, ancestors, their histories and actions, *with the landscape* (see Figure 3). Conversely, tribal genealogies are memorialised in them (ibid.). Similarly aspects of the natural environment such as natural medicines, weaving and dye plants, weather patterns and knowledge of the seasons "inform the Maori psyche as to the nature of the relationship of a people to *whenua*[28](Cadogan, in Bergin and Smith, 2004: 29-43). Salmond calls all this a "relational mode of knowledge" (1985: 251). Thus, through ritual performance, rote memorising, performance of life skills such as hunting, repetition of oral narratives, and naming of natural features and significant sites, the connection of people to the land became embodied in both themselves and the land. The land has come to be *understood* as social through social *practice* as Bourdieu has said (1990:83).

Naming the land

Memorialising ancestors by naming features of the land after them or their exploits is not unique to Māori. Hau'ofa has said for Oceania in general: "…it is the social and political implications for the present of remembered pasts that are paramount" (2000: 460). Although these 'remembered pasts' may change and develop a regional/tribal 'spin' as they are used contingently and creatively for political purposes, they are no different in this respect from any European histories of the 18th-19th century or even now. They too, contain common threads of truth that can be detected and used to illuminate aspects of human sociality within certain contexts. Moreover, since such *kōrero tuku iho* (speech handed down) was freely disseminated on the *marae*, to support whatever was the *kaupapa* (basis /purpose) of the gathering and speakers, it was technically accessible to persons of any class and ancestry who were present to listen. However, *whaikōrero* often uses archaic or esoteric and poetic language which is polyvocal, and understanding its layered implications may not have been possible for those with less linguistic or epistemic capital - thus favouring the aforementioned 'high-born males'. In this sense also it is probably not much different from the situation that Bourdieu has described for rural peasants and 'ordinary people' in Europe at that time (1991: 49). What *is* different however, is the Māori and Polynesian conception of the genealogical connection between people and the land. For example, take Tipene O'Regan's representation of one aspect of

his Ngāi Tahu *whakapapa* (genealogy) that is unashamedly 'a political statement' and recent interpretation of the past, which draws upon recent scholarship and archaeological evidence. It would not please the earlier documentary historians whom Prins **(**1991: 119**)** mentions, because it has no precise dates, but it can be checked against accounts from other *iwi* and areas of the Pacific and its relative generational time confirmed:

> It is Waitaha who established our southern whakapapa… it is they who named the land and it is they who planted the seeds of our tribally unique mythology in Te Wai Pounamu… It is hard to put a date on these early Waitaha arrivals. The whakapapa takes root from the voyaging tupuna… Rākaihautū, his son Rokohuia, and their waka Uruao. Rākaihautū is present in the traditions of Rarotonga in Eastern Polynesia and in Tai Tokerau [northern part, North Island, NZ]. The name of his waka is also that of a star constellation, one of the ancient 'star pathways' of Polynesian navigation… in his travels, Rākaihautū and his tribe named the land and the coast that borders it. These are the names we associate with the earliest archaeological evidence.
> (1992: 6)

This account illustrates a genealogical connection to the land. These connections of O'Regan's people to the land are inscribed linguistically upon it. This is where the Uruao canoe made its landfall… That is the star path by which they travelled here… This village of Rāpaki is where Te Rakiwhakaputa laid down his *rāpaki* (waistmat) to claim the land. There is no question of this linguistic and geographical connection to the land. The connection for O'Regan is even wider and extends out into the Pacific:

> … I land at Faa'a Airport and look up to the sharp peak of Aora'i high above. Knowing that Faa'a in Tahiti is the origin of the name of the East Coast Māori settlement of Whangarā-mai-Tawhiti might be of interest to a Pākehā scholar but to me, whose tupuna Tahupotiki was born there… it is a matter of consuming interest.
> (1987: 24)

Thinking about European history the same way, it is the same. Names conferred on peaks, islands and bays by European explorers abound. "New Zealand" is an example. Here is where James Cook first learned from the chief Tōpā that there was a strait between the North and South islands. We call it "Cook Strait". Yet, when Cook arrived here in 1769, the Māori names and meanings they had developed were, through recitation of *whakapapa* and ritual, already deeply embedded in the Māori sense of identity and place. It helped constitute their habitus. It had political implications because it made Māori of all classes aware of their resource rights in a practical and emotional way connected them socially and involved them in the formation of alliances. Land represented a relationship[29]. However, genealogy is implicated much more deeply in the Māori relationship with, and attitude towards the land. What follows is a return to the cosmological ideas with which this chapter began.

Time, Land & the Gods

In this relationship of Māori and other Polynesian people to the land, sea, and living world, various concepts of time are involved. They do not always see time in the same way as Western historians do, although they *can*. These particular ways of seeing time are implicated in the way they understand land and 'built-structures' to be social actors, therefore some Western and 'other' notions of time are contrasted here. This discussion is about the intersection of human sociality and the land. It is being elaborated in order to show that Māori people who participated in early encounters with Europeans brought with them to the meetings a quite different understanding of the land than did Europeans at that time. I argue also, however, that this understanding was not quite as different as some people would have us believe.

The historian's 'linear time' is sometimes referred to as being originally Judeo-Christian. Levi- Strauss calls it "statistical" and "always… an oriented and non-reversible process…" (1994: 140-1) in contrast to the cyclical conception of time associated with seasonal cycles of agrarian societies and people, who live close to the land and sea[30]. Prins comments that "[t]raditional document-driven historians" prefer "linear time" because they want "precision in form"; a logical, sequential chronology can be measured precisely, and therefore they have previously tried to convert genealogical records into generational periods of 25 years per generation, for example (1991: 119; Braudel, 1980[1958]: 47-50)[31].

In contrast, Hau'ofa describes "non-linear Oceanian… ecological time" where "emphasis is tied to the regularity of the seasons… phases of the moon, changes in … winds and weather patterns… with all their associated rituals, ceremonies and festivities." This time "can [also] be linear", but unlike some Western conceptions of linear time it is "neither teleological nor evolutionary" (2000: 458-60). It seems that in these respects for 'ordinary' people, as distinct from 'history academics', 'Western' ideas of time are quite similar. We have longer periods of time - centuries etc, measured in years, and within them seasonal cycles intersecting with our sociality and we have social cycles and other perceptions of social time such as Bourdieu has described (ibid). Linear time is simply a series of seasonal cycles and that the seasons or society sometimes change from year to year or over the course of the *longue durée*[32] is no reason for anthropologists to remove time from the equation because they are fearful that any trend may be deemed to be 'evolutionary'[33]. These years, seasons and social cycles proceed at constant astronomical

and varying perceptual speeds in a linear way for all of us, and it is the perceptual angle on the past and the future aspects of time, for which there are various ways-of -seeing.

It is often said that Māori see the past as being in front of us - as in the expression '*nga wa o mua'* (lit.times in front/ before). The other Māori expression which seems to indicate more clearly the notion of the past being in the front of us is '*nga wa a heke mai nei'* (lit. times jumping down here). Both expressions convey the idea of the past being our continuing companion. It does not mean that we do not recognise the sequential time of the past, or that we think there will be no sequential time in the future, but it does recognise that past time intersects with our social lives constantly. Hau'ofa says:

> [T]he past is ahead, in front of us... helps us retain our memories, and to be aware of its presence… [it] is alive in us so in more than a metaphorical sense the dead are alive - we are our history… it was not… when events occurred but… where, how, and in what sequence… in our reconstructions, it is broad periods and the social and political implications for the present of remembered pasts that are paramount.
> (2000: 460)

Because it involves the past-and-future-in-the-present, ancestors, and seasonal cycles for living things, the 'Māori' concept of time is also intimately connected with the landscape and the natural world and was brought with them to their encounters with Europeans, as it still is.

The maintenance in the present day of the Māori time-concept described above - is as it has no doubt been in the past - a kind of cultural schema in the manner that Ortner and Sewell have suggested (ibid). It has political power as a resource in the maintenance of cultural continuity and for re-configuring traditions that reinforce social connections. I return here to Bourdieu's statement about every [*iwi*] having their own understanding of the world, cosmology, and their place in it, their models being "as much about doing as they are about knowing…"(op.cit.). These models are 'done' by everyday practice of rituals and attention to cultural prescriptions in everyday life where people socialise, transact things, form and maintain relationships with each other and with 'others' including the gods. I have argued that for Maori, the *whenua* (land) is also their *whenua* (placenta), and their prescription for what is *tika* (right) is ordained by the ancestor-gods who reside in the land and provide *hua-whenua* (fruits of the land) if people act correctly. All components of the cultural schemas connected with the land are constantly re-enacted during everyday interactions and are seen by Maori to affect their outcomes. In the next section the example of the *whare whakairo* or carved meeting- house is used to illustrate this point.

The Marae, the House and the Ancestors

In Aotearoa-New Zealand, the term *marae* can refer currently to a place that formerly may have been a Māori reserve or village; that is, an area of land on which activities perceived to be "Māori" take place. Many *marae* in country areas have minimal permanent settlement, are often on farmland, even in fairly remote areas. They have historical significance as former villages belonging to particular *iwi*. People return to them for specific purposes - celebrations to mark various rites of passage or to attend *hui* (meetings) where matters of mutual interest such as land, resource rights, health and education policy etc. are discussed. Other *marae* have been continuously settled for generations, are still an integral part of the day-to-day life of a community and 'focal point of all common activities' (Ranginui Walker, 1975: 22). Nowadays there are also 'urban *marae*' that acknowledge the *mana whenua* of the local *iwi*, but are administered and used by people from many tribes and *hapu* who live and work in the city. These *marae* have the same purposes as tribal ones, being places where the *kawa* or customary protocols take a Māori format and some people feel more comfortable in discussing their *take* or 'issues' than they would otherwise in more European situations that official governmental bodies tend to use. They are also a *tūrangawaewae* - 'a place to stand'- where Māori can perform their rituals and entertainments, use their own language as the dominant language and exercise authority without interference from *pākehā* pressures. Through the symbolic and historical context of the physical structures and names of the marae and its location, rituals there reinforce by performance the biological, spiritual, social and emotional relationship to the ancestors and gods whose names it embodies.

Anne Salmond notes that: "in 1769 Captain Cook observed 'they have no such thing as *morais*, or other places of public worship; nor do they assemble together with this view'". She says that Cook was already familiar from his prior experience in Tahiti and elsewhere, with the elaborate sacred stone courtyard with a raised platform where rituals were performed, and was probably expecting to see something like that. However in 1772 Crozet and Roux saw something at the Bay of Islands which was described as "… a sort of parade ground… raised about a foot higher than the surrounding ground on which the houses stood… no grass was seen on it and it was kept extremely clean". It was sometimes used for ceremonial gatherings and contained the chief's house (cited in Salmond, 1975: 79). In 'traditional times' fishing and hunting expeditions and war parties gathered on the *marae* before departing, and "youths practised their manly sports" there (Walker, 1975: 21, Firth, 1972: 94-6)). Such a large space - often a lawn is still seen in

front of some meeting- houses today. It is where *pōwhiri* (welcome ceremonies), *poroporakī* (farewell speeches), *wero* (challenges), *whaikōrero* (oratory), and *tangihanga* (mourning ceremonies) take place. Genealogy ancestors and gods are spoken of there, and speeches reminding us of the importance of people-people, people-land, and people-God *connections* happen. The quotation at the beginning of this chapter is part of such a speech. There are spiritual and genealogical matters involved so the *marae* is identifiable as the "area dedicated to religious performances" that Salmond (ibid) describes for other parts of the Pacific - to the extent that when I first arrived in Samoa, I immediately recognised the same kind of space as the village *malae* by its appearance and position. In New Zealand this usage of the term *marae*[34] that functions as a stage is properly called the *marae ātea*, to distinguish it from the more general area, including all the buildings previously mentioned.

Some insights into how land and people are connected by the *marae,* are provided by Serge Tcherkézoff in his paper about cultural transformations, using the Samoan case as a model (2005: Chapter 12). The *marae* is another way of envisioning the sociality of people. He says that: "the characteristic feature of an individual society is… the phenomenon by which all individuals express their *belonging* to a single *whole…"* (ibid : 246*)*. This requires them to understand their position in relation to others and is expressed as rank within a hierarchy by the way they interact with others within the rules of that society. The higher their rank the greater the demand for conforming to those rules. "[A]ll of the individuals belong to one space, conceived as a unified place, but in which all positions are different" (ibid). In modern terms this space could be the nation or the family or village. In Samoa this 'belonging to one space' is symbolised and practiced in the space of the *malae* and associated meeting-house, where people gather in a 'sacred circle' the centre of which is 'the place of the divine'. The posts of the *fale fono* (meeting-house) are associated with particular *matai* (family chief's) names that refer to the family and lands to which they are connected by genealogy and usage. A *matai* name is that of the founding ancestor who is greeted on the *malae* in the person of his descendant and his land (2005: 246, 259-62). Family members of that *matai* are thus connected through him to his genealogy and lands. These relationships are performed by repetition and quoted during speeches at formal gatherings in the village *fale fono* (ceremonial meeting house). Although Māori *marae* also incorporate a ceremonial meeting-house, the house is rectangular, and people sit in an oval rather than a circle, but one could still regard the gathering at *hui* as having strong similarities to the situation described by Tcherkézoff for

Samoa. People often sit by their ancestral *pou* (carved post). The metaphor of the circle as representing the social unit in which "all individuals express and practise their *belonging* to a single *whole"* is a powerful way of visualising the purposes of the interactions, which take place on the *marae ātea* and in the *wharenui* or meeting-house.

As stated, these interactions involve performative expression of relationships amongst people of past and present, and connections with land and gods. Similar interactions to those still seen today were observed by early mariners, who participated, but would not have fully appreciated their implications. Reports of these meetings are drawn upon in succeeding chapters, because they are at the heart of Māori understandings of reciprocity, agency and identity. They were also at the heart of some misunderstandings that occurred during some of the 'first encounters'. The key issue is, however, the *practices* that take place there, the *meanings* they have in terms of human sociality and the way that this implicates the *land* as an integral part of the schema.

It is clear from particular genealogies, as well as accounts of eighteenth and nineteenth century observers that the social aspect of this system is not new. Tcherkézoff has suggested elsewhere that we can "extrapolate backwards" to gain insights into understandings and behaviours during past times, so it is suggested that the social relationships of Māori and other Pacific people described here, were in existence at the time of the early Māori-European encounters, notwithstanding the fact that some of them may have been modified (an issue that Tcherkézoff describes, and is discussed in chapter 6). Yet there is another level of meaning - the *symbolism* of the Māori house and its carvings that have been made from natural products of the land and forests- the body of Papatuanuku and her *kākahu*[35]. These too, support this contention that the land, gods and ancestors are implicated together in the social actions of Māori people. Carvings in and on houses represent the visible presence and sometimes *instantiations* of ancestors and gods. In their presence the performance of social and political life of the tribe is carried on, and by their presence contextually and as instantiations, they are seen as having agentive force. It is necessary to see these connections between the natural and built environments in order to understand Māori transactional and intercultural behaviours in early New Zealand.

Observers from the *Endeavour* visit of Cook and his men reported seeing houses when they visited here in 1769, but these were neither large nor carved in the elaborate manner we now see and is described here. However, on the second visit, several observers noted some ornamentation. Anderson observed at Totaranui (Queen Charlotte Sound) larger

houses “about thirty feet long and fifteen feet wide… like country barns” that were painted “red and black”. An illustration from the same area by ship’s artist John Webber features a smaller house built in the style of a modern meeting house, with low door and carved *pare* (lintel), a small window and a porch (in Salmond, 1997: 156). This second house seems much smaller than that described by Anderson, and better fits the description of a *whare puni* or sleeping house, but the carved lintel over the door is significant here because it clearly depicts human figures. Similar houses were visited and photographed by Firth in Tuhoe country in the 1920s. He distinguished them from the larger more prestigious *whare whakairo* (carved houses) and *whare runanga* (meeting houses). However Firth does describe “the better class” of them as having a carved *tekoteko* (gable figure), one representing a “seated figure clasping a conventionalised lizard in its three fingered hands”, and another “of the type... termed *kōruru*… a carved head with projecting tongue”. Furthermore he describes such carvings from older decrepit buildings being re-used in the construction of newer ones. I read this as evidence of their significance and value as representations of ancestors - even if only in the social performative sense that builders were ‘recycling’ carvings that had contemporary meaning for them.

Yet designing, building, carving and structural symbolism of the house is not the only performative aspect. There is also the intricacy of its linguistic symbolism and connection to the ancestors embodied in the names of its parts. In his report Firth claims an interest in technical words pertaining to the construction and structure of the house, because he sees them as possible remnants of past ways of being, and certainly as giving clues to present meanings. Key words he mentions remain current today, being the names of body parts belonging to the ancestor depicted on the *tekoteko* : *Kiri* = skin, covering, bark, roof; *Waha* = mouth, doorway; *Waewae* = legs, jambs; *Paepae* = threshold, horizon (1926: 54-58). Salmond describes meeting-house structure as symbolising ancestral persons in three ways. On a general level, they are usually named to commemorate an ancestor or an event associated with an ancestor - usually a more distant ancestor who may even belong to the realm of myth. The house itself is his body, with a mouth, legs, back, ribs and so on, and when one enters the house, one enters his body. Within and around the house, carved figures may be decorative/structural components of the house and represent more recent figures in associated genealogy, reflecting the nature of the community who use the house. They are its social connections, and may sometimes be quite realistic with remembered features/ performative characteristics of the person reflected in their stance

or ornamentation. Commonly, visitors sit by the *pou* (carved post) representing their closest ancestor. Salmond states that *kowhaiwhai* (rafter paintings) and *tukutuku* (woven panels) have generalised symbolic meanings that in more recent *wharenui* may commemorate specific events, or items of particular importance to the people who hold the *mana whenua* (1975:40). Walker elaborates: "The decorative *tukutuku* (woven) panels between the carvings are… symbolic of human pursuits" (1975: 22).

Groube's work analysing the development of meeting houses in the early nineteenth-century has shown that they became more elaborately carved and larger as they acquired new functions for accommodating guests such as whalers, traders and missionaries, and also as iron tools became more readily available, enabling the easier proliferation and increased detail of carvings (cited in Van Meijll, 1993: 211)[36], so the practices have changed but are substantially the same. It seems that the evidence of carved lintel on a house depicted by Anderson in 1771, the *tekoteko* figure depicted by Earle (1828), and those observed by Firth in 1926, indicate ancestral figures as already a feature of houses in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (in Salmond, 1997: 156; in Starke, 1986: 96; Firth, 1926: 56, 59). Also, for southern Ngāi Tahu in the 1820's, Anderson describes large rectangular village houses "with slab walls [and] carved barge boards… " (1998: 211). Moreover, because at least some of these carvings were figures, this indicates that the representation of people was a performative feature of house and carving construction, and because houses have a social significance this performance of ancestry through tree-felling and carving rituals and expression was, and continues to be a significant aspect of Māori social life.

This continuing performance of genealogy through its association with tribal history, land, and sociality is well illustrated by the recent construction of a *marae* complex at Mahitahi (Bruce Bay) South Westland, the home of the Kāti Māhaki *hapu* of Ngāi Tahu-Kāti Māmoe. In January 2005 they opened their new *whare whakairo* "Kaipō", named for "the eponymous ancestor of the Kāti Māmoe *hapu* that formed at Kaiapoi pa in Canterbury, and eventually migrated [in the early nineteenth century] to Te Tai Poutini… [H]e married Pōkē, daughter of the Ngāi Tahu *rangatira* Mū" and their settlement in the West Coast involved conquering the Ngati Wairangi, who had originally gone there from Taranaki (Austin, et.al, 2005: 17). Kaipō is also significant as the great grandfather of Tutoko - a chief mentioned in the archives and whose name was bestowed upon a local mountain peak, not by his own people but by the European geologist-explorer Hector who met him at Martins Bay in 1868 (Hall-Jones, 1988: 45). Kaipō is therefore depicted

as the *kōruru* and above him on the gable of the roof is the *tekoteko* representing the mythical demi-god ancestor Māui whose landing place "Te Tauraka Waka a Māui" gives its name to the marae of which this whare is a central focus. Connections with other Kāi Tahu and Kāti Māmoe hapu are depicted in the *pou,* and the "four corner posts inside the house are carved as large *toki* (adzes)… representing the sacred adzes of the canoes that carried our distant ancestors from… Hawaiki" (ibid: 25). There is, therefore, a *new house* that together with its *wharekai* "Pōkē", embodies the ancestors of the people who built it, back to mythical times, the alliances made through marriage, negotiation and conquest, and their migratory movements across the Pacific ocean and the land. This method of self-representation for Māori communities is not new. It was present at the time of Cook's second visit at least in an embryonic form, as the lintel carvings illustrated by Webber would attest. However it is not only the whare complex that embodies these things. So does the lead carver, Fayne Robinson, a local Kāti Māhaki man 'born and raised in Hokitika' and trained at the Māori Arts and Crafts Institute in Rotorua. He has reproduced the cultural schemas on two levels. By following the rituals that he as a trained carver learned, he has acknowledged the ritual sanctions and attended to the need for balance of *tapu* and *noa*. He has done this on behalf of the others with and for whom he is carving, and he has reproduced the cultural schemas by representing them in sculpture and design of the house.

As for the *tukutuku* panels, unlike Salmond's "general symbolism", the panels inside "Kaipō" reflect, specifically, aspects of the physical environment in which all social action is set and upon which it ultimately depends, because "… in Māori cosmological theory the same fundamental forces give form and energy to all matter… " (Salmond, 1985: 241). The *tukutuku* patterns designed by Puhanga Tupaea represent the landscape, including Māui's naming of the Southern Alp's "*He Tiritiri o Te Moana*" (a mirage of the sea), "*Te Ao Kōhatu*"(the world of stone) recalling types of greenstone and gold found there, "*Te Nuinga*" (the constellation) representing the night sky and constellations which brought the ancestors here, "*Te Kekeno*" or seals implicated in an encounter between Paringa Māori and European sealers, and described first hand in sealer John Boultbee's journal (cf. Starke,1986). This is one encounter described in chapter four and various descriptions of events on that occasion are used later to illustrate some misunderstandings between Māori and sealers. This is an example where using knowledge of current Māori social interaction and self representation, reveals the use of cultural schemas as a resource, which is used in hindsight to shed light upon past ways of being for Māori and

Pākehā - the kind of method which Tcherkézoff has suggested. However, we must bear in mind what O'Regan and Hau'ofa have warned - that the way we reconstruct the past is a political act made for a particular purpose. It is important to remember this both for the representations here and for those 'others' whose self-representations are being interpreted.

I have shown how Māori people nowadays perform and continuously construct social understandings of their relationship to the land, which involves continuous re- enactment of cultural schemas that were visible in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These schemas informed the understandings of the significance of land, which they brought with them when they first encountered Europeans in Te Wai Pounamu. They are reinforced by mythology.

Myths, Ancestors, and Gods

> Remembering that the cultural milieu is rooted both in the temporal world and the transcendant world, this brings a person into intimate relationship with the gods and his universe.'
> (Māori Marsden, 1975:219)

In any socio-historical perspective of relationships between humans and the land, it is necessary to enter the realm of myth, because it is in myth that we see the genealogical connection to the gods. Christine Tremewan translated some traditional South Island stories and says that 'archetypal figures' such as gods, and mythical figures "belong to the beginnings of the *whakapapa* of living persons, and all are *seen* as human ancestors… the distinction between 'natural' and 'supernatural'… does not exist in the Māori world view. Just as the gods (the first *tāngata*) are directly related to human beings, so too are trees and birds, for these too are all children of Tāne, the father of the human race" (2002: xii)[37]. They belong as much to the current 'cultural milieu' that Māori Marsden refers to, as to the past, because living persons in some ways 'are' their ancestors and the relationships that ancestors have formed in the past continue to affect socio-political matters in the present. Tcherkézoff says this about Samoan *matai* when they are speaking in meetings, and this situation also pertains amongst Māori (ibid). Ngata too gives the example of an orator at a *tangi* being asked who he was, to which he replied " There am I, above your head" and indicated a photograph of his [deceased] relative displayed on the wall of the *wharenui* (1940: 80). This understanding pertains in Māori society too.

Myths are a form of oral literature that is subjected to its own criticism, and is disregarded by some as historical evidence, because it has never been 'fixed in time' as a snapshot/written report can be and variations can be introduced accidentally or

deliberately when it is re-told or re-performed between generations and places. From a Ngāi Tahu perspective, Tau says that " Oral traditions can be read as myths, as group accounts of an event that occurred within living memory, or they can be a synthesis of both" but myths are primarily metaphorical and their logic is only meaningful within the "world view of the people who constructed the metaphor" (2003: 9-10). New interpretations do result for written texts also, and one could say that 'what oral texts lose on the swings they gain on the roundabouts', for as Borofsky said for the Pukapukans, a written text is in many ways deficient because it has no performative visual cues to aid the interpretation, and conversely, written texts can be misinterpreted in the reading (ibid)[38]. Neither can any one author be certain that the reader will interpret the 'evidence' as he has intended it to be understood (Ricoeur, 1979: 78). Each has its own deficiencies as a way of recording 'the truth'. Oral literature such as *whakapapa* and other traditional knowledge are often learned in a formulaic way, by using mnemonic systems such as carved items- even those in the *wharenui* or by chanting. As Prins says of Lozi praise poems 'it is not easy to tamper with their wording, or if they are tampered with, it is clear that this has been done…one finds elements that remain constant...' Epics and narratives are more likely to be changed over time because their form is less rigid (1991: 121-4). It is thus those elements that remain constant in which we are interested - for *whakapapa* and for those related elements of narrative that have now entered the realm of myth. Within these genres and between them it is possible to make comparisons, actually in just the same way as I have done for the mariner's journals - searching for common features of the stories about the same event or situation and person. We can hereby reach a core of 'truth', perhaps an archetypal story, but one that has influenced, and continues to influence the living of people's social and political lives in the present. Such narratives (including *whakapapa*) "are not simply *about* the past…[but] constitute ways for people to *think with* 'the past'. They involve engagement. They conceptualise the present in terms of the past and the past in terms of the present" (Borofsky, 2000: 22). In Māori cultural schemas the physical environment, land and sea, the gods and the people of past presents are all interconnected through *whakapapa* and myth. It is myth and its ongoing reinterpretation in various performative formats such as carving, *whakatauki* (proverbs), *waiata tawhito* (old songs), *karakia* (incantations and prayers) etc., that in addition to memorialising past events, continues to put before us 'lessons' for living out our social lives in the present. As will be elaborated on chapter seven, for Māori it therefore

influences their behaviour and their identity- a relevant aspect of the transactions and interactions described this thesis.

This chapter therefore continues to describe the relationship between the natural world and Māori, and how it has affected their social interactions in the past with 'other' people, including Europeans. "Deeds of epic proportions" are recounted in myths. Some that remain current in Te Wai Pounamu can help illustrate the relationship of Māori people and their gods. In order to translate this explanation of the relationship between the gods, the land and humans, via their *whakapapa* connections, to the European notion of linear time which historians favour, it would be useful to follow Anne Salmond's example, and use one or other of the many tribal and hapū variations of the creation myth of Ranginui and Papatuanuku, and explain how the myth relates to the Māori cosmological view already mentioned (1991: 42-3). All these versions of the creation myth are supported by chants and narratives, and at their core they allude to the Sky Father Ranginui and the Earth mother Papatuanuku being in a constant embrace until their children, including Tane, Tu, Rongo, Tāwhirimatea and Tangaroa pushed them apart to produce Te Ao Mārama (the world of light) which we now inhabit. Their children became the gods of the natural and social worlds and from them all living things are descended. This chapter discusses the natural world and its relationship - particularly its social relationship - to Māori and their perception of it impacts upon their social world and how they interact and have interacted in the past with 'other' people, including Europeans. The two domains of the natural world that are of importance to the discussion are the land and sea and the creatures they support. Hau'ofa summed up the Oceanian viewpoint:

> Their universe comprised not only land surfaces, but the surrounding ocean… the underworld with its fire-controlling and earthshaking denizens, and the heavens above with their hierarchies of powerful gods and named stars and constellations that people could count upon to guide their ways across the seas. Their world was anything but tiny. They thought big and recounted their deeds in epic proportions.
> (1993: 7)

For examples of Māori myth that can illustrate the kinds of understanding they may have brought to their early encounters with Europeans in Te Wai Pounamu, here are two origin myths involving the sea and land of the South Island, whose earlier names have been Te Waka o Aoraki and Te Waka o Māui. The variance and the commonalities in the stories constitute metaphors for the reality of their journey here from the wider Pacific, together with potential strategies their world-view provides for interacting with the ancestor-gods to control natural and supernatural forces by giving them meaning through their own social interactions.

The first story originates from the people of Arowhenua near Temuka, and was published by the "High Country Herald"(15 Oct.1987: 2) to explain the symbolism of a carving unveiled at Mt Cook to mark the centenary of National Parks in New Zealand. The carving, by Whānau-Apanui artist Cliff Whiting depicts Aoraki and his brothers who have been petrified and form the mountain range of which Aoraki-Mt Cook is the highest peak. Aoraki's son/grandson Tūterakiwhanoa, also depicted, was responsible for carving out with his adze "Te Hamo", the land with its inlets and bays, hills, valleys and plains. Rakinui the sky father married twice. His first wife was Pohorua-o-te-Pō and their first child was Aoraki. His second wife was Papatuanuku. When the children found out that their father was to marry again, they came down in their celestial canoe to inspect her body (the earth). The canoe was wrecked and turned to stone, forming the South Island (Te Waka o Aoraki). The prow of the canoe became the Marlborough Sounds and the sternpost is Bluff Hill. Thus, the South Island is formed from a wrecked canoe, its crew remained here and their descendants modified the landscape. For the canoe to be wrecked, there must have been some dangers to be faced upon the ocean (1987: 2; cf. Anderson, 1998: 13-15). Additionally one should note again the comment of Tipene O'Regan regarding "... the sharp peak of Aora'i high above" which he was so impressed with when he visited Tahiti, for it is a name possessed also by his Oceanic 'cousins' (ibid.). Hence the ancestors of the current Māori occupants of Te Wai Pounamu who are so far distant in time that they have become mythological figures, discovered the island, are memorialised in the names of its significant places, and every time the story is repeated, Ngāi Tahu-Kāti Māmoe perform their genealogical relationship to the land and the sea over which Aoraki's canoe travelled before it was wrecked and petrified for all to remember.

The second myth originates from the Kāti Māhaki people of South Westland, alluded to earlier. This myth describes Māui, a character whose exploits feature in many Pacific islands. In all the myths he fishes up land and in many parts of New Zealand he is supposed to have fished up the North Island (Te Ika a Māui) from his canoe "Te Waka o Māui." The version given here is slightly different and refers to his *tauraka* (canoe-landing place), after which Kāti Māhaki named their *marae* "Te Tauraka Waka o Māui. The southern headland of their bay is known as "Heretaniwha" after the two *taniwha* (monsters) Makotipua and Makohorapekapeka, whom he had to wrestle in order to land his canoe. Again we have a canoe whose crew is involved in dealing with some very large supernatural forces, which they overcame in order to land (Austin et.al, 2005: 7; cf.

Anderson, ibid). Even between the related iwi Ngāti Porou and Ngāi Tahu the story of Māui's canoe differs. Ngāti Porou believe that it remains petrified on top of *their* mountain Hikurangi in the North Island (Te Ika a Māui). But there is a canoe nonetheless, and it was turned to stone. Patrick Nunn, a geographer investigating the literal truth of islands appearing from under the sea has identified thirtyseven islands in the Pacific having myths where Māui 'fished up' land, so it is likely that Māui originated in the Pacific and was a voyaging ancestor (2003: 352-5)[39]. Māui is said to have fished up islands and to have snared the sun to slow down it's path across the sky using for both feats a hook made from the jawbone of his grandmother Murirangawhenua. A testament to the power of a woman's jaw perhaps! Ranginui Walker describes him as "… quick, intelligent, bold resourceful, cunning and fearless, epitomising the basic personality style idealised by Māori society" (1990: 15). There appear therefore, to be some fundamental truths here about Māori sociality, which also link Māori and their *whakapapa* to this land, to other lands, and to an ocean voyage in a canoe when people overcame supernatural forces by using the attributes just described. Hence, there is, I repeat, inscribed on and embodied in the land and seascapes, not only the names and exploits of remembered ancestors who were real people, but also of gods and mythical heros, linking them across the ocean to the wider Pacific. When Māori people encountered Europeans in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, their own conceptions of the land and sea were not a simple matter of resources, human power and political domains. As the name by which Māori know the land - Te Whenua - suggests, it is their placenta as well as a piece of real estate, and the sea is not their domain alone, but that of Tangaroa and of supernatural forces.

A Land in the Southern Ocean

By comparison, what follows is a brief description of some attitudes about New Zealand land and natural resources that prevailed in British official circles in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They are represented in correspondence and British government documents of the time. This aids in conceptualisation of the different viewpoints that the European explorers, whalers and sealers perhaps brought to the encounters. A brief overview only of the official British attitudes to New Zealand resources, suggests their influences on mariners who came from England. People from all 'walks of life' and different European communities inhabited the ships that visited here from Europe, so their different perspectives would be influenced by the attitudes of the

employers for whom they worked, just as the attitudes of ordinary Māori were influenced by those of their chiefs. Sailors from British navy ships had a different experience and expectations than did the sealers and whalers whose employers were sometimes 'letters of Marque' - essentially privateers who went whaling. There were Germans, Americans, Scandinavians and even some Māori and Pacific islanders. Predominantly, their attitude to land was not the same as that of the Māori locals. They had seen other lands and were working for an employer, creating an entirely different perspective on things. The employer's attitude to the journey 'counted' and created a completely different imagined place than the Southern New Zealand-Tasman Sea-South Australia we know today. It was as if the two 'countries' were one-and-the-same-place, which indeed they were, from a European political perspective. The characteristics of the physical environment, its topography and the indigenous inhabitants of the place did not count in defining the area. It was really the potential for generation of capital that was important from the employer's point of view, and it really 'framed' the journeys for everyone. This is not to say that everyone *experienced* or even *understood* them in the same *way* as I shall describe in chapter four.

For Cook's one visit to Dusky Bay in 1771 and his three visits to Queen Charlotte Sound in 1769, 1773, and 1778, as well as Vancouver's visit to Dusky Bay in 1791, the employer was the British Navy. For Bellingshausen at Queen Charlotte Sound in 1820 it was the Russian Navy, and for D'Urville at Queen Charlotte Sound in 1827 and Stewart island in 1840, the French Navy. In all cases, the purported reasons for the visits were scientific and exploratory - to seek out and chart new lands and improve navigational techniques and equipment. Cook's letter from Batavia to Admiralty Secretary Stevens in October 1770 describes the way he faithfully carried out the instructions:

> … I have with undisguised truth and without loss, inserted the whole transactions of the voyage… Although the discoverys made on this voyage are not great… and altho' I have failed in discovering the so much talked of southern continent… no part of the failure of such discovery can be laid at my charge… The plans I have drawn of the places I have been were made with all the care and accuracy that time and circumstances would admit of… and the many valuable discoveries made by Mr Banks and Dr Solander in natural history and other things useful to the learned world…
> (quoted in McNab, 1909: 3-4)

However, additionally, Cook's secret instructions from his employer in July 1776 before the second voyage said:

> You are also, with the consent of the natives, to take possession in the name of the King of Great Britain, of convenient situations… to distribute among the inhabitants such things as will remain as traces and testimonies of your having been there…"
> (in McNab, 1907:28)

By 1783 James Matra who went on Cook's first voyage and was a friend of Banks, proposed a settlement in New South Wales that would become self-sufficient, utilising resources from New Zealand including flax and sealskins. These would facilitate trade with China. He said, "Sir Joseph Banks highly approves of the settlement" and "The place which New South Wales holds on our globe might give it a very commanding influence in the policy of Europe… if we were at war with Holland or Spain we might very powerfully annoy either State from our new settlement". He also suggested it might be a suitable place to send convicts (McNab, 1907: 36-43). A form of this plan did 'come to pass'. By November 1789 Captain Raven of the Brittania, after discharging his cargo from England was "hired into his Majesty's service", intending to procure sealskins for the China Market and to "fetch a supply of provisions from the Cape of Good Hope" because the settlement at Port Jackson were unable to provide for themselves entirely (ibid: 177-8). Sealers and whalers were thus accustomed to thinking of New Zealand as a 'way station' for provisions, as Cook had done previously, and also as a temporary employment site for catching seals. For some men, escaped convicts and people 'down on their luck' it fulfilled the basic needs of staying alive in a mostly hostile environment of dangerous seas, and hazardous killing operations. The southern 'fishery' was as much centred on Hobart and Port Jackson as on Murihiku-Rakiura and Otākou[40]. The human geography was completely different and the land was a base with potential to provide resources to exploit and develop in the future - a far cry from the Māori viewpoint already described, but one which must have influenced their behaviours at those early encounters.

Te Wai Pounamu and Rakiura: South Island and Stewart Island

The two principal Southern Islands of New Zealand, what has come to be known as Foveaux Strait beween them, and some places where the recorded encounters between Māori and Europeans occurred are now described. In the mythologies these islands are known to Ngāi Tahu as "Te Waka o Māui" (Māui's canoe) and "Te Puka o Te Waka o Māui" (anchor-stone). The myths "gave meaning to the shape of the land by transplanting familiar Polynesian names and their… traditions. They emphasised the distinctive features of the region such as the dangerous sea conditions, [and] the distribution of forests" (Anderson, 1998: 16). They also give a social dimension to the landscape, by

their association through *whakapapa* with feats of the demi-god ancestors. Bathgate (1969) and McFadgen (2007) have both described the geographical distribution of Māori occupation sites in the South Island, in prehistoric and historical times. The are predominantly coastal, and where they are inland it is clear that this relates to the presence of environmental resources such as stone quarries or *mahinga kai* (hunting and gathering sites) (Bathgate, 1969: 89-181; McFadgen: 104-6). The higher density of sites in the Northern regions than the Southern probably reflects the population density and climatic conditions. Bathgate argues that the increased population density along southern coasts during the period of early European contact was related to the cultivation of the potato (1969: 252). Since the Southern limit for *kūmara* cultivation was Banks Peninsula, it enabled a greater number of people to be supported in settled villages. The potato was also an important exchange item in the vicinity of the southern whaling and sealing ports.

The distribution of settlements probably changed between Cook's visit in 1771 and the time of sealing and whaling encounters with southern Māori in the early nineteenth century. Ecological landscapes in which these early encounters took place probably affected the encounter behaviours and outcomes, which were not simply based upon logic, customary practices, and habitus, but upon how people experienced and imagined the whole situation at the time. Some components of landscape brought to the encounters by both parties, have been described but two further things - natural resources and the interaction of natural forces including earthquakes, tidal and weather events can be shown to affect how people thought and responded to each other at various times. Some were reflected in myth and reported often in the European journals and diaries. They affected peoples' moods and social behaviour- how they 'got along' with each other and sometimes were the motivation for decision-making as the journals described in chapter four illustrate. In chapter six how these intersected with peoples' expressions of identity is discussed. The situation is no different today. The German missionary Wohlers wrote about the superb beauty of the landscape in the 'Neck' area of Rakiura/Stewart Island in 1847[41]. In 1895 he described the nature of Foveaux strait for its contrastingly dangerous nature for small boat journeys:

> Journeys from place to place were always made by boat. Such journeys were not without danger, for mighty waves roll through the wide strait, and made strong tide rips on the uneven rocky ground, especially where the ebb and flood tide meet. A boat appears a very small thing amidst the high foaming waves …
> (Wohlers, in Richards, 1995a: 82)

David Monro in the Nelson Examiner described Bluff harbour as being dry mudflat at low tide, surrounded by "low, poor and swampy" land with a 20-mile long sandy beach between New River and Jacob's river (1844, in Richards, 1995a: 94). Further around the south- west coast of the 'Middle Island' now known as Fiordland is Dusky Bay where Cook first met southern Māori. Menzies, on Vancouver's expedition wrote on 18th November 1791 in the journal of the "Chatham":

> It abounds in Harbours and Snug Coves, shelter'd from all winds and the greatest inconvenience of all of them is the great depth of water, 20, 30, and 40 fatms. being found close to shore… The land about the bay is very hilly, rising directly from the waters edge, and completely cover'd with Wood, but further inland we could see very high Mountains in some places bare

On leaving harbour and travelling southwest towards Foveaux Strait on the 22nd November, he describes a 'close call' with some submerged rocks:

> These rocks be in the Lat.48.3.S… Had we been so unfortunate as to have got among them the preceding night… the consequences might have been fatal, as the night was extremely dark, and it blew so very hard that it was with difficulty that we could bear Scudding, much less to have been able to haul upon a wind to weather them…
> (quoted in McNab 1908 : 499, 502)

These early descriptions reveal the variety of habitats and conditions that humans on these southern coasts experienced. They ranged from rocky coasts with terrifying sea conditions requiring great skill and courage to negotiate, to warm sandy beaches and beautiful sheltering harbours. One would think some of these places attractive areas to live, close to beaches and ocean for fishing and shellfish gathering, close to the "Muttonbird" islands with proximity to safe anchorages, 'real estate potential' and timber sources for those inclined to exploit them[42].

Summary

The connection between land, ancestors and gods via carvings and continuing performative rituals, is essential to the understanding of transactional and intercultural behaviours and identity. Whilst the physical worlds of the actors overlapped considerably in how they were experienced, Māori and Europeans brought to their early interactions quite different understandings of their relationship with them. This chapter has explored these differences and introduced the idea that for Māori, land and sea were social actors tied into the Māori cosmological scheme via the ancestors and gods, and perceived as having supernatural power - one kind of agency. They were in a *relationship* with land and sea that formed an integral part of the cultural schemas. The chapter argued that it was different for Europeans who were more interested in land as a resource and sea as a

highway. Māori were aware of this perspective also, and in this resource aspect their conceptual worlds overlapped to a greater degree.

'Resources' provided constraints and opportunities and so could therefore be seen as having another kind of agency, by influencing decisions and behaviours for Māori and European actors[43]. Ngāi Tahu commonly refer to their *mahinga kai* (food gathering places) like lakes as their *rourou* (food baskets). However, for them the living resources - fish, whales, birds and plants were also the children of the gods Tangaroa, Rongo, and Tane and thus were connected spiritually in the 'grand cosmological scheme' mentioned earlier in the account of land and its human connections. Whales in particular, so important as a resource in Murihiku appear in Ngāi Tahu myths, for their ancestor Paikea arrived in the North Island from the Pacific on a whale. Europeans had *their* own myths and traditions of sea creatures and birds and other resources, within the discourses of their own 'world-views', which are now explored in the next chapter.

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[25] Cécile Quesada (2008) "The Volcano as a Social Actor in Nuiafo'ou, Tonga", Lecture by Visiting Scholar. The MacMillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, Christchurch. University of Canterbury. The volcano has been transformed to a social actor, and its eruptions are part of the way the local people define their identity.

[26] By names given to the land which memorialise ancestors and their activities, but also at a more basic level in terms used for the land and natural resources eg., *whenua* (land) meaning also placenta, *rito* meaning the growing tip of the *harakeke* or NZ flax and also the umbilical cord.

[27] According to the Carrington text " one of the first whare-wānanga to be established in New Zealand was at Kohurau (…Kurow, near Oamaru) by Ruawharo and other tohunga (priests) of Takitimu [Tamatea's waka]… Strangely South Island tradition knows nothing of this…"(Tau & Anderson, 2008: 45).

[28] Land/placenta.

[29] Cf. Verdury& Humphrey (2004: 6) who suggest " a view of property as relations among persons by means of or with respect to things". In this case the 'thing' is land and the persons are humans and their ancestors.

[30] Evans-Pritchard described the 'oecological' cyclical or seasonal time of the Nuer, and E.P. Thompson the 'task-specific' sense of time such as 'a rice-cooking' or 'a maize roasting' which are both ways of *measuring* time in a shorter frame than the seasonal or annual one (in Prins, 1991: 125). Similarly Bourdieu describes the 'proper' timing of the interval between the giving of a gift and its reciprocation - another *measure* though more flexible, relying upon the contingent judgement of the agents who carry out the action, as well as the communal cultural expectations (2000: 198). However, whilst this 'time' is cyclical, it is socio-culturally rather than physically determined, and not necessarily linked to the seasons.

[31]Cf. Buck (1949: 36) *The Coming of the Māori.*

[32] Longue durée- a very long time span (Braudel, 1980: 27).

[33] cf. N.Thomas (1991:9).

[34] Buck (1949: 374) calls it a "ceremonial plaza".

[35] The forest is referred to metaphorically as her cloak. It represents her grandchildren, the offspring of Tane, god of the forest.

[36] The question of whether or not the meeting-house is a post-European development has been raised by Van Meijll who questions Anne Salmond's "interpretation of the meeting house as a representation of an ancestor…[and that it] may have been introduced much more recently" (1993: 216).

[37] Cf. Rawiri Te Maire Tau, (2003: 17-20). "… myth involves characters of divine origins whose deeds takeon superhuman feats… creation… control of natural forces and features… defeat of life-threatening enemies… all have a functional purpose… to explain natural phenomena, a code of conduct… or to act as a blueprint for rituals particular to the community." Tau provides a very useful chart for non-Māori to negotiate conceptually the Myth-History boundary.

[38]See Tau & Anderson (2008:17) - " Māori look to the language that was spoken at the time, appreciating the allusions, metaphors and symbolism… Metaphor points to thoughts and emotional states" indicating "what people were thinking at the time".

[39] Buck also outlines these variations of the Māui myths (1949: 4-5).

[40] Cf. Olssen (1984: 21).

[41] "… on the one the side one has the view of the most beautiful bay with its islands and its shores surrounded by forest-clad hills. In the background are high mountains and the troughs of valleys; on the other side towards the east there is the immense ocean and towards the north in the foreground a row of little islands; further distant the hills of Ruapuke stand glittering above the waves, and in the background some blue mountains of the Middle island float swimming on the horizon…".

[42] It is equally possible to quote reports on a similar range of conditions for the other parts of Te Wai Pounamu visited in the early period - Otago, Banks Peninsula and Queen Charlotte Sound.

[43] See Robert Johnston (2001: 235) Physical environmental factors, such as, for example, earthquakes, adverse weather conditions and astronomical events can influence judgement and decision making and alter the course of transactions and interactions. Presence or scarcity of certain resources can do likewise. In this sense the resources are social actors because they are mediators in the transactional sense, although they are not, of course reflexive!

Figure 5. Joseph Banks displays himself in a Maori cloak, amongst his collection of Maori and Pacific 'curiosities'. Mezzotint reproduction of Benjamin West's painting by John Smith, courtesy Auckland Art Gallery.

CHAPTER 3

Enlightenment discourse & the mariners

> Notwithstanding I was as hardy and robust as most people there was something about me which caused my boatmates to suspect I was a degree or two above their level, & I was often amused at their remarks. One day, as I was sitting writing, two or three of the crew observed " he is a regular scholard & keeps a log of all that is going on, one said " I think he must be some swell's son, & has spent his money, it's a pity such like chaps should come to this", but he reckoned we were all born and not buried & it might happen, he some day or other should have his turn in the balance. With this piece of philosophical reflection, he comforted himself trusting to Fortune for his advancement or downfall - But to Jack, a chew of tobacco was the "ne[c] plus ultra" of his wishes and desires.
> (Boultbee sealer's journal, 1825: 74. ATL MS-copy-Micro-0623)

As the introduction suggests, translating the reported behaviour of Māori and European participants in the early exchanges as from their contemporary European journals requires an understanding of the discursive and physical environmental contexts in which they took place. Chapter two focused primarily upon Māori viewpoints about the land of New Zealand, but referred to ideas that both parties probably brought to their meetings. Likewise, this chapter outlines some ways in which English Enlightenment thought could have influenced how European observers interpreted and experienced the interactions, and represented them in their journals. John Boultbee, an educated English seaman worked as an ordinary sailor in a sealing gang around the southern coasts of Te Wai Pounamu and experienced many encounters with Māori. The quote above from his journal suggests variations in the ways ordinary seamen experienced their day-to-day interactions with 'others'. As a person who had attended "a respectable boarding school… [and] received a suitable education… as… befitted one in the middle ranks of life" (Starke, 1986: 2), Boultbee was aware, at least basically, of Enlightenment philosophies current in England at that time. He certainly had read Pope (in Starke, 1986: 88). These ideas had influenced the experience and writings of gentleman naturalist Joseph Banks in a different way. Boultbee would have known their political effects. 'Jack', also mentioned in the above extract, may not have thought much about Enlightenment philosophies, but lived with their politico-social effects, which would have coloured his attitudes and responses to other seamen and officers, as well as to Māori.

In addition to reviewing some relevant philosophical ideas, the 'Enlightenment discourses' that filtered down, and how they were manifested in the 'lived lives' of people like 'Jack' (op.cit.), is described. Their journals are not available, they were possibly unable to verbalise them in the written form, and hence their stories are absent

from the record. Fortunately we have glimpses in what other people wrote about them, in the songs they sang and the prayers they said. It is inevitable that subaltern folk traditions persisting in shipboard culture, agricultural villages and ports from which many of the sailors came, contributed to their interpretations, were in turn discussed in pubs and churches, and helped to reconfigure enlightenment discourse within their own worlds. Glimpses of this reality are rare in archives, but are visible none-the-less, especially where mariners record their fears and apprehensions in relation to the physical and cultural unknowns of their journeys across the world. These aspects will be discussed in chapters four to six in relation to the journals where they are expressed or inferred.

What follows here is an outline of some dominant discursive and political realities of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century England - since most of the mariners whose journals discussed originated from there. Chapter four examines in much more detail their lives and journal representations of ship's captains, officers and ordinary seamen from Cook's voyages and the sealing and whaling voyagers who visited Te Wai Pounamu in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Enlightenment Matters

The Europe that James Cook, his supernumeraries and crew left, was one of rapid change, but one also influenced at all levels of society by 'Enlightenment' thinking, and also by some ideas persisting from at least the late Renaissance. These ideas were included in ordinary public discourse, in what people on land heard from the pulpit, and those at sea from the Captain, on Sundays[44]. They influenced what people thought and decisions they made, although many of those Boultbee referred to as of the "lowest grade" or "caste" would not necessarily have known their philosophical origins (1828: 16). There is no room here to discuss the various ideas of the *philosophes* at any length but I take the viewpoint of Thomas Munck that:

> … even though we recognise all the variant 'national' forms of enlightenment in Europe, we need to remember that to many contemporaries the fundamentals of reason and enlightening were valid throughout Europe and North America irrespective of national boundaries… [and that] for all the deep social divisions in European society, the enlightenment was not merely an élite intellectual pastime, but a real process of emancipation from inherited values and beliefs, with… much potential impact on ordinary Europeans.
> (2000: vii)

This thesis interrogates *ordinary* Europeans who were at sea in the Pacific, their Captains and officers and their New Zealand Māori counterparts in Te Wai Pounamu who were affected in their turn by the prior understandings which *tauiwi* (foreigners) brought with them. What the foreigners reported in their logs, diaries and voyage narratives will

be discussed in the next chapter, but here some specific aspects of enlightenment and renaissance thought which appear to have influenced their understandings and experiences of the early encounters between themselves and Māori in the South Island, are explored. These aspects are entangled with broader topics sometimes described as 'enlightenment discourses'. They concern moral philosophy and the perceived need to establish secular moral systems, including perceptions of what it means to be "good and honest", the natural world, man's place in it, his nature, the advancement of science, and intentions to increase knowledge of the natural world, "to lighten workloads and increase the volume and efficiency of production" (Hyland et. al. 2003: 126).

E.P.Thompson said, "every account must start somewhere", and the influence of *where* and *which events* we start with, produce a different perception (1968: 27). For example, the development of a dissenting and libertarian tradition in England may be viewed differently depending on whether we attribute its origin to the 'Levellers' of Cromwell's time, the French Revolution, Peterloo (where dissenting voices were silenced by military means), or the Industrial revolution[45]. Thompson examines the "long traditions" that manifested themselves in such events and were taken up by the Methodist revival (ibid.). These events and their origins did not happen in isolation but were actioned by the 'masses'. The ideas that spawned them were apparent long beforehand in academic and popular discourse, distributed in public speeches such as that of the 'Leveller' soldier Sexby who asserted their rights to universal franchise (despite their not being property owners), because they had fought for their country (ibid: 25)[46].

The next section of this chapter shows how ideas having their immediate origin in late Renaissance thought, persisted into the early nineteenth century and continued to influence the socio-political conditions and intellectual environment experienced by later voyagers, early traders, sealers and whalers whose records have also been examined in the research described here. During this period a number of disruptive events such as the Seven Years' War occurred (1756-63), where France and England vied for control of Canadian territories. Cook, Surville and Bougainville were engaged in them on opposite sides, together with many ordinary sailors from both countries. The French Revolution (1789), the French wars (1793-1815) the American War (1812), the naval mutinies at Nore and Spithead (1797) and associated political instabilities at home, all affected and disrupted the lives of ordinary seamen as much as those of their captains, and influenced the ways they viewed the world and the place of themselves and 'others' in it. Yet, these disruptive 'events' were simply louder parts of a work being played out constantly, an

ongoing sequence in the everyday lives of people in all the walks of life where they worked, prayed, sang, discussed current issues, acted according to survival needs, and sometimes brought about change. Remnants of these activities and discourses they encompass are apparent in the archival records discussed in the following chapter**.**

The next section examines ideas of the 'Great Chain of Being' and the 'Noble Savage' which through Linnean thought directly influenced ships' naturalists on Cook's, Bellingshausen's and d'Urville's voyages. Similarly, the anti-slavery movement, discourses on 'cannibalism', and personal property/theft affected all the voyagers and were implicated in the then contemporary concern for re-evaluating one's understanding of what it is to be human, and to live an ethical social and political life.

The next chapter shows the important influence these ideas had on the way that the European sailors interpreted their observations and experiences, and how they represented this in their journals and logs. Enlightenment discourses influenced the working conditions of these seamen, and the political environments of their families' lives. Men's actions and the personal worlds they inhabit include thoughts of family, ideas of justice and dreams of the future. Life in the confined space of *Endeavour's* middle decks, for example, would remind them of the reality of their service also. More extreme were the working conditions of sealers and whalers, some being ex-convicts, confined in challenging weather and sea conditions and constant physical danger, left sometimes for months in isolated places to fend for themselves amongst 'savages', yet knowing that on returning to in their home ports conditions may not be much better. Their journals also, are used in the next chapter to shed light upon 'first encounter' situations, and the behaviour of their selves and 'others'. The contrasting viewpoints and reports of ship's captains are compared with those of ordinary crew. I therefore highlight here the effects of 'enlightenment thought' on both of these groups of people who, although they had a shared culture of shipboard life, had also their own subcultures or worlds within it, as they also had when they were ashore with their families at home.

Human Nature

James Cook, son of a seasonal farm worker, was seven years old when Linnaeus first published the book *Systema Naturae* (1735) setting out a new standardised system for the classification of 'natural' things. At that time when 'Enlightenment philosophers' took an increased interest in science, the natural world, and man's place in it, the book was a big success with its system of classification for minerals, plants and animals being taken up enthusiastically by naturalist philosophers and gentleman amateurs alike. Collecting

specimens from these taxonomic categories, and travelling abroad finding new and extraordinary varieties, for display in private collections and publicising them at meetings of the Royal Society, became an important occupation. These collections contributed to the databases for scientific investigation, enabling display of the collectors' selves as interesting well-travelled persons with cultural capital from exotic destinations. Bougainville (1771) even brought back a human specimen in the person of Ahutoru, and Cook brought Tupaia and 'Tayeto' (1770), and Mai (1774) although Tupaia and his boy died at Batavia along with others of Cook's crew. Mai, predictably "captivated King George and his court… meeting the professors at Cambridge… " (Salmond, 1997: 105, 118).

Scottish philosopher David Hume said, "Tis evident, that all the sciences have a relation, greater or less to human nature" (1739, quoted in Hyland, 2003:3). Little did Cook realise that the Linnean system would later be incorporated on board his vessels during the first two voyages to New Zealand and the Pacific, in the persons of Daniel Solander (Linnaeus's "beloved pupil"[47]) and Joseph Banks (first voyage, 1769), Anders Sparrman and J.R.Forster (second voyage, 1772-5)[48]. These eighteenth century naturalists' journals probably contributed more than any to public perceptions in Europe of Pacific peoples, including Māori in the second half of the eighteenth century. Their observations and interpretations were coloured by their Linnean training. Linnaeus had included humans in his system, having studied 'others' in Lapland where he said of the Saami: "The tranquil existence of the Laplanders answers to Ovid's description of the golden age, and to the pastoral state as depicted by Virgil. It recalls the remembranceof the patriarchal life, and the poetical descriptions of the Elysian fields." (1732, in Ellingson, 2001; 133)

While he was developing his taxonomic system, the church still retained a belief in the pre-Renaissance concept of the Great Chain of Being, a structure that classified the natural world hierarchically, with minerals at the bottom, followed successively by plants, animals, humans, and angels, with God at the top. Linnaeus had said that: "Man, the last and best created works; formed after the image of his Maker, endowed with a portion of intellectual divinity, the subjugator of all other beings, is by his wisdom alone able to form just conclusions from such things as present themselves to his senses" (ibid.).

Church people were therefore able to 'slot' the Linnean system into the Great Chain of Being, and some early 'anthropological' views about 'other' humans arose, whereby some were seen as being closer to the spiritual realm than others (in Hyland et al. 2003:

104). Besides Linnaeus, others commenting on the place of humans in the 'natural' world, and contributing to the debate were Buffon, Diderot and Rousseau whose varying opinions about man's nature influenced the early anthropological discourses known to 'naturalists' Banks and Solander, J. R. and G. Forster, Sparrman and even Cook himself. Buffon (1753) considered that humans are "inspired, enoble[ed] and animate[d]" by a "ray of divinity" from God, but that species were not immutable. "[T]he monkey is a man degenerated… [they] have sprung from common stock" (in Hyland et al. 2003: 108). The origin of his ideas could be seen in the 'Great Chain' excepting that he allowed for species to change, contradicting any biblical interpretation of separate creation or immutability. This allowed for conceptualising that within the human species, some races/'others', may be degenerate in comparison with other groups. The enlightenment era philosophes engaged in this discourse, as did gentleman amateurs and naturalists, who had access to their works on board ships like the *Endeavour*. Hyland et al. explain that Diderot in his *Thoughts on the Interpretation of Nature (1754)* expressed evolutionary ideas also, "… that nature is still at work and "what we take for natural history is… the far-from-complete history of a single instant" (2003: 102-12). Hume (1748) considered the white species of humans were superior, and Blumenbach (1798) that there were five different varieties of humans - "four were of degenerated stock" (in Hyland, 2003: 7). Some humans were physically inferior in this hierarchical taxonomic system, at least in some Enlightenment discourse. Moreover, humans varied socially according to what kind of societies they had - whether they were deemed to be 'civilised', 'savage', 'barbarous' or 'primitive' (ibid: 7). These ideas persisted into the early nineteenth century when explorers like d'Urville were in New Zealand waters in the late 1820's and 1830's. Debates raged between those who thought that "human nature was the same at all times and places" and those looking for racial differences (Hunt, 2003: 16). On d'Urville's 1840 visit, Dumoutier made life masks of Kai Tahu chiefs 'Taha Tahala' (Tangatahara) and 'Poukalem' (Pokene) at Otago (ibid; Thomas, 2003: 54-5; Terry, 2003: 76). It was thus usual for naturalists like the Forsters and Joseph Banks to make value judgements about the level of civilisation and physical characterisics of Māori and Polynesian 'others'.

Ownership

'Theft', and its associated 'punishment' are repeated components of the Māori-European exchanges described in chapters four and five. They are implicated in their contemporary ideas of ownership, 'law', 'human nature', and what constitutes a good

person in the Christian sense, so what follows immediately, raises issues that probably influenced the journalists participating, observing and reporting their cross-cultural experiences in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century New Zealand.

Entwined with eighteenth century discourses on human nature (some persisting today in Western popular discourse), is the understanding of what ownership is, and how it relates to the human person. Pocock traced these ideas via Edward Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776) to Tacitus and the "biblical paradigm". He saw the "history of any society… as part of the search for its natural law… the history of its jurisprudence… land tenure and… property" (Pocock, 1992: 34). In the early seventeenth century it was thought that 'natural humans' in their primeval state were individuals with no rights, property, justice or government and therefore not 'fully human'. The assumption was that to be fully human a legal system to arbitrate, and a technology such as a plough to demarcate the land were required to provide a sedentary lifestyle that would promote sociality, language and government. People who had neither of these things were not fully human and this "discourse of possessive individualism… a great deal older than market relationships… can be found in Roman jurisprudence." A Roman owned his land, slaves, weapons and home. The Enlightened equivalent of this person was paid money for services and property and could spend time on public duties and artistic pursuits. This idea caused problems for some like Rousseau, who thought that a 'self' too socially engaged would lose its individuality (ibid.). There was a choice between savagery and corruption, as the next section of this chapter suggests. Many educated eighteenth-century people thought the savage individual was the "… original individual born on the earth and living on it", a conflation of the "wild men of the woods" and hunter-gatherer peoples without western agricultural technology or "civil government by consent", whom Westerners saw on their travels (ibid.). If people had no property, law or government to reinforce its ownership, exchange or commerce, then they were savages (ibid: 34-5)[49]. Some voyagers to New Zealand gave Māori the opportunity to become 'civilised', but doubted their capacity to be 'improved': "We also gave them two young pigs, male and female, hen and a rooster… if they know how to take care of these things there are enough of them to reproduce… But the laziness of these people is so great that it is to be feared that our seed fell on very unproductive ground" (L'Horne, 1769, in McNab, 1914, Vol 2: 343). But naturalist J. R. Forster, surgeon-ethnographer Savage, and missionary Marsden all described how Māori could be to be trained ('improved') to raise themselves above the savage level, and made efforts to help them to do so:

> I shall now proceed to notice the first dawn of the rising of the sun of righteousness upon the poor benighted heathen of New Zealand… I have always considered this circumstance as one of the first apparent steps, adopted by divine providence, to prepare the way for the introduction of the gospel to New Zealand… He [Governor King] saw them safely landed amongst their friends… gave them some hogs… instruments for agricultural purposes… axes, spades, &c… as he thought conducive to their future good.
> (Samuel Marsden, 1814 in McNab, 1908: 333)

> [T]he natives of New Zealand are of a very superior order, both of personal appearance and intellectual endowments[p16]… their intelligence is such as to render them capable of instruction, and I have no doubt that they would prove as essentially useful to a colony established in their country, as the natives of India prove to our Asiatic Dominions [p93]
> (John Savage, 1807)

Gasgoigne says that 'improvement' was a goal where agriculture would civilise people, and was "at the heart of landed society" (1994: 185).

Savages could become human by gaining possessive individuality and then civil government, but fully human beings could also lose these characteristics by practising a nomadic lifestyle. Goguet's gentiles in *De L'Origine des Loix des Artes et des Sciences* (1758) forgot their morality, natural laws, agricultural and pastoral practices as they wandered and became nomads like the Kaliharians and Tasmanians. They could even have become cannibals (the ultimate form of savagery). For Goguet, hunter-gatherers were savages and civilisation was promoted by agriculture, because it kept people in one place, making possible the exchange of ideas and things through language and socialisation (Pocock, 1992: 36). It is this kind of exchange which some mariners and missionaries attempted to achieve as their writings above suggest. The notion of individual property ownership accompanying enlightenment discourse about the 'natural laws' of humanity, helps explain the misunderstandings their participants had, about Māori-European transaction behaviour in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century New Zealand.

Europeans grew up with this property ownership discourse, and its legal implications. Some had experienced the consequences of not abiding by those implications, despite not always having the real possibility of doing so - but they knew about them, however unjust they felt them to be. Moreover individual property ownership ideas were enshrined in the bible, which, through Puritan sects and dissenters like Methodists, became increasingly accessible to ordinary people. Their programme of developing an "inner compulsion" to keep the 'ten commandments' developed a fine sense of guilt that reinforced the still harsh legal system and enforcement of property rights[50]. We are talking here about a system that condemned fourteen-year-old George Bruce to death for stealing two handkerchiefs (in Whitley MS., 1898: 8-10), a phenomenon quite an everyday occurrence

in Georgian Britain. Māori initially had no idea of these things. They had different notions of ownership and of theft, based on different discourse altogether. This also will be discussed in chapter four in relation to the journal reports.

Savagery and Nobility

Rousseau stood out amongst Enlightenment thinkers in emphasising feelings and emotions as distinct from reason and intellect, in the promotion of a natural and good society. He thought "Everything is good as it leaves the hands of the Author of all things" humans deteriorate morally from exposure to civilisation, and "all the first impulses of nature are good and right" (quoted in Hyland et al, 2003:17; 83). Society caused regression, and "heirarchy, aggression, private possessions and moral degradation" were the consequences (ibid: 263). Many of his contemporaries like Hobbes (who thought that humans were 'naturally bad') considered these views were overly romantic, and associated them with renaissance classicist attitudes about a 'Golden Age' such as Linnaeus had adopted in his aforementioned comment about Saami (ibid: 17-19, 83). Such interpretations resulted in the concept of the 'Noble Savage' being attributed to Rousseau, and were influential in construction of the voyage narratives of people like Bougainville in Tahiti (which he called the 'New Cythère') (in Tcherkézoff, 2004: 25). Banks and Forster were also influenced by these interpretations, as was the sealer Boultbee in the early nineteenth century: "I left Van Dieman's Land for Sydney, intending if I could succeed to get a passage to Otaheiti, (a place in my fancy led me to select as a second Elysium)" (Boultbee, in Starke, 1986: 31). That the 'Noble Savage' *idea* originated in the philosophical views of Rousseau, has been challenged by Ellingson. He states that Rousseau never used such a *term,* which originated with Marc Léscarbot (1609) using 'noble' as a legal term, in connection with the hunting behaviour of West Indian 'savages'. Since hunting wild animals is a *behaviour* associated with kings and nobles, savages might therefore be noble also. Lescarbot then associated these savages with the aforementioned Golden Age: "Furthermore, all savages generally do live everywhere in common - the most perfect and most worthy life of man, seeing that he is a sociable creature, the life of the ancient golden age…" (1609, quoted in Ellingson, 2001: 25-6)

Thus we have two Renaissance *concepts* - the 'Golden Age' and the 'Noble Savage' still very much alive in the latter half of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries, conflated in peoples' minds with Rousseauian ideas, which then were influential in the records of ships captains, naturalists and ordinary sailors imagining and

interpreting their journeys and Pacific people they met. It was in their minds and those of the professional interpreters back home[51].

Further to his claim that Rousseau did not invent the *term* 'noble savage', Ellingson reveals that neither is Rousseau responsible for the promotion of the *concept*, because in attempting with other Enlightenment thinkers, to understand the nature of humans, his aim was to establish a utopian baseline by which to judge and compare our present: "[A] state which no longer exists… perhaps never existed, and which will probably never exist, yet of which it is necessary to have sound ideas if we are to judge our present state satisfactorily" (1755, in Ellingson, 2001: 81). Utopian islands are not new either, and like the 'noble savage' can be traced back to Renaissance times, although they persist in some peoples' imaginations, and still continue to appear in travel literature. Johnson said: "Basically utopia is a place where one is *not* at the moment; therefore its qualities are naturally the opposite of current, unpleasant conditions" (quoted in Lansdown, 2006:11). The imaginary status of noble savages and utopian island ideas did not make them any less real to seamen on frail sailing ships amongst the icebergs in the Southern Ocean, and certainly coloured their thoughts. At least some of them mentioned the fact in their journals for the New Zealand leg of their journeys.

The next section of this chapter elaborates on three related threads of Enlightenment thought which also affected the lives and thoughts of the *tauiwi*[52]. These are discourses on cannibalism (in its more general aspect in European/British thought, and in its 'naval' versions), slavery/antislavery, and issues of religion, politics and the development of industrialisation affecting social and living conditions of officers, crew and their families at home. These were crucial in the recruitment and retention of men, their work attitudes towards each other, and towards the 'others' they met in New Zealand. Like Rousseau, these men too had their "[d]iscourse on Inequality" and their responses to it.

'Discourse[s] of Inequality'

This sub-title is borrowed from Rousseau's famous essay (1755) where he debates the 'nature' of man (in Hyland et. al, 2003: 18-20). Munck explains that "[e]ighteenth century society was built on assumptions of inequality" (Munck, 2000: 21-45". It inherited these from seventeenth - century society with its remaining 'great chain of being', but as the century progressed debates on nature and man's place in it, questioning of religious authority and encouragement by philosophers like Kant to "[h]ave courage to use your own reason" (in Hyland et al, 2003: 54), promoted a greater openness to new ideas and perspectives. Maybe as Kant suggested, this took place slowly at first, amongst

some people, but as the century progressed new ideas entered public discourse via the written word, public demonstrations, theatre, satirical songs and pamphlets, and political groups and meetings (Hyland et al. 2001: 54-5; Munck, 2000: 21-45, 163). Sea shanties were included, and seamen wrote journals at sea where they documented and interpreted things they experienced and discussed. Not all these documents were collected by the Admiralty as some were supposed to have been, at the end of the voyages. Beaglehole has said, " When Lieutenant Hicks collected them in, there can't have been much handed in" (1955: ccxxvii), which is why I have been able to read logs that were not incorporated in Hawkesworth's voyage account. They survived in the families of their writers, some being published subsequently, to the chagrin of Banks and Hawkesworth who were, for example, displeased when Parkinson's brother decided to publish (1773). No such requirements existed for whalers and sealers aboard merchant ships and though fewer they provide a different perspective on eighteenth and nineteenth Māori-European interactions and shipboard life. They would have known that their accounts would not be subject to editing by their employers.

Openness of thought spread, but the effects were not even for everyone, or in every place. Hobbes, Locke, Kant, Rousseau and Linnaeus were sons respectively of a church minister, a lawyer, a saddler, a watchmaker, and a pastor. They would, through their life trajectories, have had some insight into non-academic life, yet made important contributions to contemporary discourses that in their having taken place, as much as in what they said, contributed to this developing openness. However agreements reached and ideas disseminated, were interpreted differently by people of different ranks and circumstances in society at large. The idea of 'improvement' previously mentioned, consisted in promoting the personal betterment of those whom E. P. Thompson was later to describe as "the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, the 'obsolete' handloom weaver, the 'utopian' artisan… [who] lived through these times of acute social disturbance… [and] were casualties of history…" (1968: 13). In my reading one should include here the skilled Able-Bodied seamen and their Māori 'savage' counterparts, for they also were talked about in philosophical circles in the coffee-houses and pubs of Georgian England. Joseph Banks, naturalist on the *Endeavour* voyage was a wealthy landowner, and supported 'improvement', but his motives, like those of John Locke focussed on the promotion of empire and nation and the betterment of himself, rather than on benefits that each person or family would gain by way of health. Like Catherine the Great when she discovered that it might affect her property and land, he became opposed to libertarian

ideas such as allowing non-gentry membership of the Royal Society when he was the patron for years after the *Endeavour* voyage. He also opposed the development of the dining/discussion club the 'London Corresponding Society', whose purpose was to campaign for "universal suffrage and annual parliaments" (Cole & Postgate, 1956: 152-3; Gascoigne, 1994: 14, 251-3).

Despite the principles of liberal thinking promoted by Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau and others that 'all humans were born free' being espoused by influential people, when sharing resources to realise them was involved, there was resistance, often justified by older discourses such as that some people were 'of the lesser sort' (Hyland et al. 2003: 171, 2). Such expressions 'of the lowest grade' or 'better sort' appear in journals of sealer Boultbee and naturalist Joseph Banks (Boultbee, ATL.MS, 1828: 16; Banks, 1769 in Beaglehole ed. Vol 2: 13). They appear to be indicative of a kind of 'class-consciousness' and will be discussed further in chapter four.

Amongst the equality-inequality debates in Georgian Britain the influence of many sects and forms of Christian religious expression are fundamental. The rights to power and authority of the aristocracy and landed gentry were questioned by both subalterns and academic philosophers. The customary authoritarian practices of the Catholic and Protestant churches were subjected to questioning and transformations and developed different interpretations of what it meant to be human and who should have the power to decide this. Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Quakers were amongst the non-conformists that survived from the seventeenth century. Anglican and Roman Catholic churches produced offspring, in the form respectively of Methodism and Jansenism, both involving "moral reform and spiritual revival" (Munck, 2000: 33). These appealed to lay parishioners whose participation in parish affairs, charitable work and education was encouraged (ibid.). As indicated later in this chapter, the non-conformist ethical and religious interpretation of what it means to be a 'good person' included both 'doing good works' and the incorporation of a 'work ethic' seen as a manifestation of doing the work for and of 'the Lord'. Being socially ethical equated with being religious (ibid: 35; E.P.Thompson, 1974: 391-3). Thus ordinary folk and authority figures could be both ethical and religious, which was expressed amongst themselves in everyday practices and reflections expressed in the archival material I have researched:

> …Now the condition of this obligation is such, that if the above bounden… master of the said vessel and the officers and crew of such vessel shall each and every of them, peaceably and properly demean themselves and be of their good behaviour towards the natives of New Zealand… and if they shall not commit any act of trespass upon the plantations, gardens lands, habitations, burial grounds, tombs, or properties of the natives… and if they shall not make war…or in any way interfere in the disputes, quarrels and controversies of the said natives… [etc.]
> (Lauchlan Macquarrie, Governor, NSW, 1813)

> Doo you kep a good looke out while I am talking to [you] farr. For if those bloodthirsty Creatures [the police & soldiers looking for him] come-upon us they will shut Us. and I ham sure we must go to hell. For we have-had-no time to repant but I hope God will give us time. so farr as I was telling you I not only got A apny, But I recived the blessing of our Lord jesus Christ, who came down from heaven. to save such wicked writches as us… Now you will understand…my poor old mother dragging me evry night in the weake from one meting to an other. to heare the Gosple of jesus Christ Prisht. For through the drunkiness of my Father. she could not pay for scooling but she just to tell me that if I minded wat them good Men sed. It wod be better then ...[sic]
> (George Bruce, convict, 1810, in Whitley MS, 1898)

The issue of slavery is aligned with these religious attitudes and practices, for amongst the roles undertaken by non-conformist churches, was the formation of societies and groups to promote the public good. These included the founding of charitable hospitals, workhouses providing for the poor, prison reform initiatives and the antislavery movement championed by the Society of Friends (Quakers). Humanitarian activity of this kind developed from this new religious discourse where "religion and social commitment were inseparable" (Munck, 2000: 34-5) and also, as is shown later, out of British Moral philosophy. It was instrumental in empowering subalterns within the church community via increased community participation and education. Humanitarian viewpoints on slavery were widely disseminated amongst them as they were also amongst those whom Banks would have called the 'better sort'.

Slavery, and European public and philosophical discourse about slavery, is relevant to this thesis in three ways. Firstly, considering the interactions between European ships' captains & officers and their men, and with their Māori counterparts. Secondly, sailors have been described as having lives like slaves: "The boundary between slavery and freedom is itself blurred. Eighteenth century European sources compared the sailor on shipboard to a slave… yet some slaves used maritime life as a route to emancipation" (Ewald, 2000: 70). Thirdly, the discourse on slavery was infuenced by perceptions of savagery, ideas of 'improvement' and the influential practices of the Christian church - particularly the Protestant sects - on the experience of English Georgian social life**.**

We tend to think of Africans when thinking of slaves, and American sealing and whaling vessels out of Nantucket and New Bedford that plyed New Zealand waters in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries did have black seamen, some escaped slaves, and some who from their earnings had bought their freedom (Bolster, 1990: 1173-8).

Some were simply people with little money or opportunity, seeking adventure. Many were inexperienced, which "suited the merchants fine" because they would work for less pay (Farr, 1983: 159). Even Cook's *Adventure* had a black crew-member - Tobias Furneaux's servant killed by Māori at Queen Charlotte Sound (McNab, 1909: 65)[53]. Du Clesmeur also describes the escape of two negresses and a negro from Du Fresne's vessel in 1772, the negro "tak[ing] refuge in some village" so even British and French *naval* vessels had African crew before 1807 (Labé, 1769 in Ollivier, 1987:69, 83; Du Clesmeur in McNab, Vol 2: 481). They did not hold high ranks, which is significant, as I shall show in chapter six, but some did play significant parts in the interactions that took place between Māori and their 'others' in eighteenth and nineteenth century Aotearoa-New Zealand, affecting also the lives of their ship-mates. Furthermore, since the involvement of Britain in the British East India Company, after 1757 merchant captains employed many Indian Ocean sailors or *lascars* who signed employment agreements called 'Asian Articles', which allowed them to be paid at one fifth to one third the pay rates of Europeans, preventing them from striking or seeking equality[54]. They were liked because they were "obedient, satisfied with rough fare… sober and hard-working…" and unlikely to desert (ibid.75-6; cf. Salmond, 1997: 235, 290). Captain Raven (1789)[55] was a sealing captain whose ship was chartered by the NSW authorities to transport provisions from India to Australia. Some of his crew were probably *lascars* like those of his friend Captain Bampton under whom the sealer Murray also served[56]. In a way, their working conditions were not much better than slavery. Enlightenment views could certainly have been considered in any reflection upon their 'natural humanity.' In the historical encounters described here, *lascars* and their behaviour provide insights into the interactions of ordinary sailors with each other, with their officers, and with Māori. Some *lascars* deserted their ships, stayed ashore, lived as Māori, adopted Māori practices and wives and joined the élite group of subalterns known as 'pākehā Māori'. Chapter six elaborates upon the unique roles that these pākehā Māori had as mediators and cultural agents in early New Zealand.

Despite his experiences in the Pacific, his stated respect for many of its people and his flaunting of his connections with them, Banks thought the African slave trade should not be abolished excepting on economic grounds (Gascoigne, 1994: 20, 40). Munck says that for some people: "charity did not extend to heathens… [and] the suffering inflicted on blacks was morally outweighed by the access to Christian salvation afforded by their conversion in captivity" (2001: 187). He describes articles about slavery by

enlightenment authors in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* as being "brief… generalised… [and] susceptible to multiple interpretations" (ibid.). Anstey said, regarding abolition in 1806-7: "… although the French enlightenment sounded no clarion call on abolition, there was a stream of it - quite apart from Montesquieu - epitomised in the Abbé Raynal, [whose antislavery book *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes* went through fifteen English editions]…" had considerable influence in England (1972: 308)[57]. According to Anstey another influence in the development of anti-slavery discourse was the rise of British Moral Philosophy and associated concepts of "liberty, benevolence, happiness and providence" that "stems from the New Testament injunction to love one's neighbour" and is a reaction against negative Calvinist teaching on "man's depravity" and Hobbes's idea of natural man being "always in a state of conflict" (1972: 305-8). The influence of this 'moral philosophy' is present in Hawkesworth's official account of the *Endeavour* voyage, where he uses 'Providence' to justify some of his representations of the voyage journals (1773: xx-xxi). Anstey says that the Quaker anti-slavery activist William Wilberforce is known to have been familiar with these discourses and to have influenced Prime Minister Pitt in the eventual abolition of slavery in 1806/7 [58].

Discourse on the abolition of slavery also intersects with Georgian notions of savagery and civilisation. After slave transport was abolished in 1807, it was expected that the owning of slaves would atrophy, but this did not happen and there was concern whether slaves could be 'improved' by becoming moral, Christian, educated and able to manage their property, legal and economic rights when freed - all of which equated to their capability of being 'civilised'. A British parliamentary select committee was even set up in 1832 to determine this matter. It reflects that in some minds, slaves were savages, and might not be capable of 'improvement' to make them fully human (Blouet, 1991: 395-400; cf. Pocock, op.cit.). The attitude can be compared with missionary and mariners' accounts that describe Māori as savages (or barbarians) who *are* capable of improvement. Some had come to see that the influence of 'commerce' did not 'improve' them at all, and that *they* were 'improving' the 'whites':

> I am sorry to have to report that the conduct of the whites is worse in reference to the Lord's Day than that of the natives themselves… [who are] setting an example to the whites living among them who pursue their worldly avocations on the Lord's Day… We are a good deal annoyed… by the visit of some Otago natives, they are a very barbarous set, no wise improved from their commerce with shipping…
> (James Watkin, missionary, 1840, H.L. qms 2123)

Watkin's entry is reminiscent of Goguet's idea that people in 'savage' environments (Europeans) may revert to savagery (cf. Pocock, 1992: 38 op.cit.) and it also could be considered evidence in favour of Rousseau's belief that 'commerce' can have a corrupting influence (op.cit.).

What the mariners of various 'sorts' ('better' or 'poorer' or 'lesser sort') reflected in their journals in the eighteenth and nineteenth century depended on their position in life at the time, as well as upon their habitus. Knowing the major enlightenment discourses which affected their lives either directly because they knew them from their education, or because these discourses had socio-political effects on their personal circumstances, enables us to begin to understand how and why they behaved as they did, how they perceived 'others', and why they represented them in the way they did in their journals. There was more than one Enlightenment experience. It was not just different in England than in France, but the experience of subalterns was different from that of their 'superiors'.

Cannibalism

Allied with enlightenment discourse on the nature of man was the matter of cannibalism - whether or not anthropophagy is a natural component of human nature, how humans imagined it, and whether or not it was confirmed by empirical evidence gathered by contemporary voyagers to distant lands. Such voyagers may also have presented themselves as brave and adventurous by exaggerating and distorting that empirical evidence. No less important is the role of " anxiety that the 'Other' is going 'to roast and eat us'" as Obeyesekere suggests (2005: 28). He emphasises how British children since mediaeval times have listened to so many stories of ghoulish subjects such as witches, goblins, ogres etc. that they have an inbuilt fear of cannibalism (ibid.). 'Jack and the Beanstalk' involving a giant who ate children is a case in point, and Obeyeskere calls this "fantasy of cannibalism a psychic structure of long duration." He reinforces Arens's view, that it is a way of attributing unacceptable 'savage' behaviour to the 'Other' (ibid.). Ellingson says that sometimes where there was no 'actual cannibalism', then 'savages' were commonly represented as practising torture or human sacrifice and thus were "virtual cannibals" (2001: 12). In this sense, tattooing could also be perceived as a 'savage' practice. Moreover the delight which readers took in viewing/reading gruesome material must have persisted in the 1840's, for a cartoon and report describing how the young boy Joshua Newborn, aboard the whaler *Marquis of Landsdowne*, had: "fallen into the hands of savages… his life was spared, upon his consenting to be marked

and to live with them…" appeared in the London Illustrated News (in Bentley, 1999: 93). In the early nineteenth century it was not unusual for tattooed pākehā who had lived as Māori, exhibiting themselves for money on their return to London, which would have reinforced the 'savagery' discourse (ibid.). For mariners there was, however, empirical evidence from within their own society, that under conditions of duress such as during famine, war and shipwreck sailors have drawn lots as to who would be killed to enable others to survive (Obeyesekere, 2005: 37).

One cannot ignore either, the publicly sanctioned and visible gruesome methods of killing other humans for petty crimes and perceived political misdemeanours that existed in Georgian England. These things were potential realities of life on an almost day-to-day basis. It was not only the imagined reality of the 'savage other' that sailors had to fear. In ports and towns, they knew in the later eighteenth century that the punishment of hanging, drawing and quartering was real. For example the moderate activist and shoemaker Thomas Hardy was in danger of this from his having organised the London Corresponding Society (who were campaigning for universal suffrage), which activity had been declared a treasonable act (Cole & Postgate, 1956: 160-161). Munck describes executions as being "popular events" and together with prisons, as having "an increasingly vivid role in the imagination of contemporaries" (2000: 153). Children and desperately poor people were transported in appalling conditions to New South Wales for stealing a loaf of bread[59]. Sailors sleeping in hammocks or eating meals in the middle decks of HMS *Endeavour* were constantly reminded of the brutality of naval discipline by the cat-o-nine-tails hanging on the wall there. Therefore the fear of the savage retributive justice of 'others' amongst their own people, cannot have been far from their minds. To some extent also they must have become immune to the cruelty and when confronted with the reality of anthropophagy in the Pacific it may not have seemed as shocking as we might perceive it to be now[60].

Joseph Banks's interest in physical anthropology partly involved collecting human body parts for Blumenbach (Gascoigne, 1994: 154). For example dead parts like human skeletal material and preserved heads he came across, constituted collectors items that might contribute towards an anatomical collection of the human species, so there must have been a certain detachment in his attitude towards them. The collection of some of these items has been described in the journals of Cook's voyages and will be referred to in chapter four along with other examples from the early nineteenth century sealers', whalers' and 'pākehā Māori' accounts.

Religion, Rights, and the Employment Environment of Working People

British Admiralty documentation about crew enlisted on Cook's ships for the Pacific voyages shows clearly that although there were crew who had served under him before, and were keen to participate in the voyages of exploration, there were many more listed as having had second thoughts and deserting. After each of 16 names on the *Endeavour* muster before she sailed from Plymouth appears the expression "ran at Deptford"[61]. It was customary to press men into the navy using trickery and violence and seems likely they were 'recruited' as 'navy volunteers' in pubs and from the streets (Newbolt, 1929: 98; Thompson, 1968: 88). Sometimes people convicted of petty crimes were offered the choice of 'prison or navy' and some men were bribed by a 'bounty' as an incentive to join[62]. Given also that 1769-1815 was a period of unstable government and war in England and America, these young men, mostly from the lower classes could have perceived that they had nothing to lose by going to sea. They were not politically ignorant or unaffected by enlightenment discourses as these applied to their particular status and occupations. Such discourse filtered down and out to them in taverns, through the pulpit, by ordinary gossip and in the increasing number of pamphlets, tracts and newspapers that became available to them.

Partly because the middle and upper classes wanted their employees to be literate and numerate, and partly because there was a movement for open discussion of political and religious matters, more people now learned to read and write. "For Lowland Scotland… [literacy was] nearly universal amongst men and women even in rural areas… 92% for men and 74% for women in central London… ". Reading and writing were not necessarily taught together (Munck, 2000: 48), so some people could read but not write, but many could read and talk so it is inevitable that ideas were disseminated and discussed. Along with the increase in available printed material there was not only an increase in patronage of coffee and ale-houses by the rich, but the "staggering increase in turn-over in the drinks trade" indicates a corresponding increase in fraternisation of urban males outside of church meetings [ibid: 31]. Thompson describes how [an early nineteenth century] tradesman who had learned to read the bible might try to read the *Age of Reason* [63], and collect Radical periodicals, while an "illiterate labourer" might "go each week to the pub where Cobbett's editorial letter was read aloud and discussed" (1974: 782). Men would walk for miles to hear a political speaker, and this is how they were able to see their own lives in the context of their society (ibid.). Evidence exists that Jacobin (reformist) meetings at the naval ports of Portsmouth and Chatham were attended by

sailors during the period of the Nore mutiny (ibid: 184), so sailors ashore participated in the same activities and popular public discourses as their land-bound contemporaries.

Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791 & 1792) sold 50,000 copies in 1791 (ibid: 117), was shared and debated amongst friends at clubs, debating groups and lodges and surely influenced the perceived 'rights' of many. Joseph Boultbee, Chairperson of the Gentry and Clergy at Atherstone wrote in December 1792, a letter wanting to chastise the Excise officers who had distributed copies of the book:

> … numerous meetings… are daily taking place… for the avowed purpose of suppressing treasonable and seditious writings amongst which Mr Payne's rights of man [sic] ranks most conspicuous. Were I not informed you have taken some pains in spreading that publication, I write to say If you don't from this time adopt a different kind of conduct you will be taken notice of in such a way as may prove very disagreeable. The Eyes of the Country are upon you and you will do well in future to shew yourself faithful to the Master who employs you.
> (quoted in Conway, 1909: 181)

By 1794 large groups of seamen participated in naval mutinies at Nore and Spithead. Cole & Postgate say these were not political, but "strike[s] against intolerable conditions" which were unchanged for about 60 years (1956: 31, 165). These conditions included insufficient food, brutal discipline, bad-tempered commanders, and insufficient pay frequently in arrears, sometimes for years. The government response was to hang the ringleader of the mutiny and to pass Acts restricting the rights to meet, of newspapers and printers and of discussion groups such as the London Corresponding Society (ibid.). It could, however, be said that without discourses of 'improvement' and 'the rights of man' arising from a more general enlightenment openness these 'rights' may never have had any force at all. The living conditions of seamen that they expose are important to remember when considering journals written in New Zealand waters by seamen and officers of the British Navy.

After the 1780's Britain's population peaked and was difficult to feed, so government tried to stabilise the grain price by increasing productivity and introducing 'Corn Law' tax on imported grain. To increase agricultural productivity they enclosed common land that tenant farmers had previously used to sustain families and supplement their incomes. More food was produced but was inaccessible to farm workers, whose wages became reduced and seasonal, and whose rights declined (Daunton, 2000: 44). The Enclosure Acts were really a culmination of agricultural improvement strategies persisting from the eighteenth century, and of which Joseph Banks was a 'leading light' (Gascoigne, 1994: 193). Methods of improvement included new methods of animal husbandry, breeding and land tenure that constituted a revolution that produced more unemployment and rural

depopulation (Cole& Postgate, 1956: 120-3). Parishioners wrote desperate letters to their landlords about the effects of enclosure:

> Whe right these lines to you who are the Combin'd of the Parish of Cheshunt in the defence of our rights which you are about to disinherit us of… Resolutions is maid… that if you intend of inclosing Our Commond… fields Lammas Meads Marshes &c Whe resolve… to have the bloud of everyone… that wishes to rob the Inosent Unborn…[sic]
> (letter to Oliver Cromwell Esq. 1799, quoted in Thompson, 1968: 240)

The Enclosure Acts effected a reduction in employment opportunities for rural farm labourers that sometimes resulted in their impressment or recruitment into the Royal or merchant navies. It increased industrialisation in urban areas and the mechanisation of cloth-making processes caused reduction in part-time employment for rural women and migration of unemployed rural workers to the cities. The influence here of what E.P.Thompson calls the "Transforming Power of the Cross" is significant (1968: 385). Christian churches, particularly non- conformists like Methodists, played an important role in their lives and discourses they incorporated as part of their identities. These in turn influenced their commitment to industrial work (and even to rural work, and work as mariners). These people seeking employment were accustomed to varied seasonal work that could be combined with the care of children and families. In the industrial situation, they needed to work at one occupation all day and year. The Methodist church experienced the "deep-rooted allegiance of many working- class communities (equally amongst miners, weavers, factory workers, seamen, potters and rural labourers)…", and while providing some relief from their often difficult lives, promising a better life in the hereafter together with opportunities for socialisation and discussion, it also encouraged a "work ethic" or "inner compulsion" and was a mechanism for maintaining their subaltern status with respect to their employers. In this role the Methodists supported/replaced what the established churches already did (Fromm, in Thompson 1968: 391-3). Methodism discouraged sins such as drunkenness, idleness, sexual license, the enjoyment of games and other frivolous activities that might distract one from serious work. It also counteracted the popular attractions of political discussion groups that might otherwise undermine the status quo for landowners and industrialists. Being a 'good person' in their discourse involved church attendance and obedience to the 'work ethic'. Seamen may not always have followed this faithfully but it undoubtedly contributed to their subaltern status, and sometimes to their personal reflexivity. It is mentioned in various guises in their journals that follow this chapter. While Methodism discouraged frivolous occupations, and also intellectual enquiry, it approved of 'improvement' and pursuit of

the various branches of science whose wonders are ‘the Work of the Lord’. Linnaeus’s species were also ‘wonders’ and so enlightenment ideas having their origin in the eighteenth century persisted in this form in early nineteenth century popular discourse (ibid: 812-3). This too, is consequently reflected in the journals of sealers and whalers and also in those of Joseph Banks and his contemporaries. It intersects also, with the other discourses of ‘improvement’ and ‘empire’ that Banks espoused (op.cit). According to Thompson the Scottish Jacobin agitation was different from the English that “…there was no comparable peasantry in England, and Calvinism was not the same thing as Methodism although it is difficult to say which, in the early nineteenth century was worse” (ibid: 14). A number of Cook’s crew, as well as whalers and sealers were of Scottish birth, but most of them were recruited from English ports, so it is likely that the immediate environment in which they lived ashore would have conformed to the English situation described here.

Summary

This chapter has given a very brief idea of the Napoleonic-war-American-war social and employment environment from which the ordinary boys and men who went to sea on whaling and sealing vessels ultimately came. They were poor. The naval yards at Deptford and Chatham were close to the agricultural hinterland of Southern England. As the common lands became enclosed and the pool for farm-labouring employment was contracting, men sought employment elsewhere. Some were familiar with small boats having worked at river ports and in coastal areas like Deal, and the economic conditions must have made seafaring an option where they might at least be fed, and ‘adventure’ was a bonus. For the later period extending into the early nineteenth century with the industrial revolution beginning to ‘bite’, increasing numbers became desperate, and men put to sea as whalers and sealers. They were mostly not young middle class adventurers, but unskilled labouring boys and men who eventually formed the crews of the sealing vessels visiting New Zealand - sometimes from Tasmania. They had no-where to go except poverty or factory employment in the cities. Some were undoubtedly press-ganged. Some became petty criminals and were transported or their sentences commuted if they served in the navy. Their perception of the ‘south seas’ must have been a stark contrast to their current way of life. What they actually experienced and the way they responded to it must have been coloured by their previous lives at home in Britain.

Thus I have described some threads of late Renaissance, and Enlightenment thought evident in the journals and voyage accounts of the *tauiwi* (foreigners) whom Māori encountered on our shores in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Admiralty records list the books carried aboard their vessels that are also mentioned in the journals, and they include works by some of the aforementioned authors (in Salmond, 1991: 102). As will be shown in more detail in chapter four, ideas discussed by officers and naturalists in the 'Great Cabin' (a quite small room on the *Endeavour*), would have filtered down via the midshipmen to at least some of the crew and become part (however distorted by the telling) of discourse on the lower decks. This influenced what they experienced, how they understood things and hence what they wrote.

Munck has described how we "face some quite fundamental problems of evidence in trying to study the diffusion of the enlightenment outside the charmed circles of the well-to-do" but some evidence can be gained from "traditional forms" (Munck, 2000: 21-6). He also highlights the:

> … diversity of customs and traditions across different regions… and across different social groups… that suggests we are faced with highly complex overlapping *subcultures, co-existing but not always fully mutually comprehensible*… [with] mutual interaction across social divides…The approximate contours of common value systems… can be discerned if we are prepared to accept indirect, refracted and at times fuzzy evidence across a wide spectrum…
> (ibid, my emphasis)

It is exactly these mutual interactions across social divides, which are examined in this project. Furthermore this notion of interaction is applied to the cross-cultural divides that existed in New Zealand during the voyages of Cook, Vancouver, Bellingshausen and D'Urville and also of the whalers and sealers who visited here in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The evidence used may be "fuzzy across a wide spectrum" as Munck has said (above), but wherever possible is supported with official accounts, Admiralty and Government documents, missionary and mariner's wills, letters and journals. In chapter five the evidence is illuminated also with possible interpretations provided by some exchange objects and behaviours recorded in the journals. As I have argued in chapter two 'traditional' accounts, songs, narratives and genealogical records count also as valid information sources, that are as much or as little capable of being modified by reconfiguration as any other. The chapter that follows examines some of these records together with some of the other influences upon their construction and interpretation.

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[44] cf. Beaglehole (1955:513-519).

[45] Thompson's examples refer to events that took place at different times and were influenced by different social movements. Peterloo was a massacre by cavalry of English people assembled at St Peter's Field, Manchester, to protest against the Corn Laws.

[46] Cf. Nore Naval Mutiny (1797) - sailor's letter to the Admiralty Lords: "Damn my eyes if I understand your lingo or long Proclamation… but in short give us our Due at Once and no more of it, till we go in search of the rascals the Enemyes of our Country" (Thompson, 1968: 183).

[47] Daniel Solander, Linnaeus's pupil accompanied Banks on the first voyage (see Tingebrand, 2007 @ www.pitea.se/turism. Accessed 19/08/07 at 6.45pm).

[48] Johann Reinhold Forster was accompanied by his teenaged son and ethnographer, Georg (who was also a naturalist in the Linnaean tradition).

[49] Cf. Verdery & Humphrey (2004) *"*Introduction*",* in *Property in Question: Value Transformation in the Global Economy,* pp 3-4. " John Locke was a pivotal figure" in the production of the philosophy of 'improvement' by seeing property "as present in a state of nature". He wrote the Carolina Land laws and had "an agricultural venture there", so could be seen as using his philosophy in a self interested way.

[50] cf. E.P. Thompson (1968: chapter 11).

[51] John Hawkesworth who wrote Cook's first voyage account from journals the Admiralty had supplied him with, adding his own philosophical interpretations and including his personal philosophical viewpoints (1773: iv).

[52] Foreign visitors.

[53] Banks had two 'black servants', Thomas Richmond and George Dorlton who died of exposure on Tierra del Fuego (Wilson, 2003:174), and Labé (in Ollivier, 1987: 83), lists two slaves from Malabar and Malagasy, a Moorish lascar and a Malabar servant, as having died of scurvy in New Zealand waters during Surville's visit in 1769.

[54] Cf. Farr (1983: 161-2) - the same applied on American whaling ships in regard to black seamen

[55] Mentioned in the previous chapter.

[56] See McNab, 1914: 519.

[57] "My blood boils at these horrible images: I hate, I flee from the human species composed of victims and tormentors; if it cannot improve itself, let it destroy itself… If there be a Religion… which tolerated… such horrors… its ministers should be smothered under the debris of their altars."
(Abbé Raynal, 1774, in Munck, 2000: 189).

[58] Pitt was distracted by war and fear of Jacobinism, and obstructed by conservative members of the House of Lords concerned like Joseph Banks with their own resources, land and the politics of Empire, but it became apparent that the cost to the British navy of maintaining protective convoys for slavers from Africa to the West Indies had became uneconomical (Anstey, 1972: 316, 330-1).

[59] in the case of George Bruce two handkerchiefs (op.cit. Whitley MS, 1898: 2-8).

[60] See Collins (1970: 51) "The Bark Endeavour and Life aboard Her".

[61] See Resolution muster on Cook's Second voyage to New Zealand on John Robson's page: http:pages.quicksilver.net.nz/jcr/~cookmusters3.html, accessed 22/03/08 at 5.12pm

[62] The Naploeonic wars of 1803-1815 were the last official time in which seizing men for naval service took place (www.royalnavalmuseum.org/info, accessed 4/03/08).

[63] Thomas Paine (1795) *The Age of Reason.*

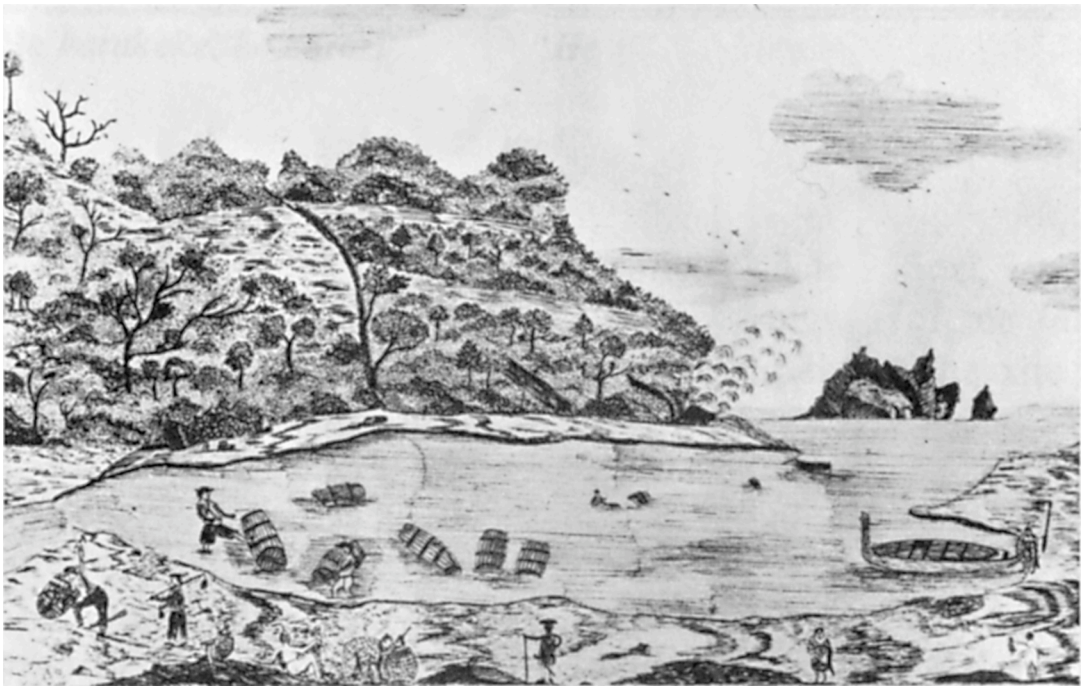

Figure 6. Subalterns at their daily tasks: ordinary seamen ‘watering’- transporting water casks for the ship while Maori chief and officer look on. Illustration from Cook’s voyage at Uawa (Bay of Plenty). Reproduced in W.T.Ngata (1971) “Ko ngā Kōrero mō Kāpene Kuki”, in *Te Wharekura 19, p. 19.* Government Publicity Studios. Wellington, Government printer.

CHAPTER 4

‘Mariners’, mariners, Māori and others in the archives

> In justice to the officers and the whole of the crew, I must say they have gone through the fatigues and dangers of the whole voyage with that cheerfulness and alertness that will always do honour to British seamen, and I have the satisfaction to say that I have not lost one man by sickness during the whole voyage.
> (Captain Cook to Admiralty Secretary Stephens 23/10/1770)

> … is it not perhaps something new, something which may not be expected of England, when a plain sailor describes these events to the public in his own way? Will it not be an entirely different mode of expression…? And can his path cross that of more experienced observers? Why should I not…tell my own story in my own way?... My education has not been such that I am in a position to recognise mistakes, or to seek information in books…”
> (Heinrich Zimmermann, seaman 1781: 9-10)

> Our Captain John Bedar [sic], he set sail, he set sail. Yes for Port Jackson he set sail. I’ll return men without fail. But she foundered in a gale. And went down, and went down, and went down.
> (From “David Lowston” sealing song c.1810: in Fyffe, 1970)

Captain Bader’s brig *Active* ‘went down’ and the eight men he set down to ‘seal’ with a whaleboat, an axe, an adze and a cooper’s drawing knife, at Taumaka (Open Bay island) on the South Island’s West Coast, would all have been described as ‘mariners’ in 1810 when the incident occurred (McNab, 1909:153). Yet they were not the same kind of mariners as Heinrich Zimmerman, seaman/diarist (op.ct.) on Cook’s third voyage, nor the same as Captain James Cook R.N. Nevertheless, they had things in common, in addition to their ordinary humanity. These ‘things’ are seen to have influenced the progress and outcomes of their interactions with Māori people they met in Te Wai Pounamu. On both types of voyages, some people from different backgrounds had skills for which they lacked paper qualifications. Their experiences and understandings of situations and events have not always been given credence in the historical record because their own writings are absent or they are sub-altern in nature and do not conform to ‘official’ interpretations of the happenings. This project has focussed on finding the stories of these largely invisible observers and social actors to see what light can be shed upon their social interactions with sub-altern and ethnic ‘others’. It is my contention that a facility with interacting across sub-cultural boundaries and between life-worlds or classes within a culture enhances the potential for success between cultures, and furthermore that this ability and its associated knowledge is learned spontaneously and situationally as well as being initiated by cultural contexts that may activate aspects of habitus and innate potential.

Records discussed here show that by reading journals, official reports and letters of 'superiors' 'against the grain', noting their silences and emphases, comparing and combining these with other contemporary accounts, 'folk' literature, songs, prayers and genealogies, it is possible to tease out another history and another 'mariner' or 'Māori' perspective altogether. These views have been formed from reading journals, voyage accounts and wills of some forty 'mariners' from Cook's three voyages, associated British Admiralty records and official letters. Journals of junior officers and ordinary seamen, together with ships' logs and journals from some whaling expeditions were read from micro-film copies of original manuscripts in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Other whaling and sealing logs and journals published in Robert McNab's volumes (1907, 1908, 1913 and 1914) have also been read. Five voyage accounts of Bellingshausen's visit to Queen Charlotte Sound translated and edited by Glynn Barratt, are included also (1979). Closely succeeding these exploratory voyages by vessels and personnel from the British navy were visits to New South Wales by transport ships bringing convicts and supplies to newly formed settlements at Port Jackson (Sydney), Hobart (Tasmania) and their outposts in New Zealand's North Island. The South Island was to these explorers and entrepreneurs a functional 'way station' on the periphery of the Tasman Sea province of New South Wales and Tasmania, and a potential resource base for the British Empire and the individual capitalist to exploit. Thus in the same year of Vancouver's stop-over at Dusky Sound on his way to seek the North West Passage, American-born, English-employed Captain Eber Bunker, son of a Nantuckett whaling Captain, arrived at Port Jackson in the converted whaler *William and Ann* with a cargo of convicts and began trading to the Pacific and India, and whaling and sealing locally on the New Zealand and Australian coasts and their Southern islands (Chisholm papers, ATL.MS-papers-6729-5). Like Captain William Raven (1789) his crew included *lascar* seamen, probably employed under the aforementioned 'Asian Articles' of service (chapter 3). This 'sealing and whaling era' marked the beginning of a different kind of relationship between mariners and locals, with some different 'sorts' of people involved. Like their predecessors on Cook's and Vancouver's ships, most of these men were British and came from the impoverished socio-economic and political circumstances described in chapter three. These international seamen - *lascars* and Europeans of all ranks, already had much experience of 'cross cultural first contacts', different from but in some respects similar to those Cook's men had. At the turn of the century, excepting the Captains and some officers, the 'mariners' were mostly in straitened circumstances. Being employed

was not much better; some were illiterate. Post-1815, it is not as likely that they were press-ganged, but rather were desperate for employment or seeking adventure.

Records from sealers and whalers are sparser than for mariners on Navy ships, who were *required* to keep journals - but records of sealers and whalers do exist - primarily from Captains and officers logs. Many of these men were apprenticed to sea at a very young age and had 'come up through the ranks' in the merchant service. There remain a few narratives from ordinary seamen that were written some time after the events. For the South Island six logs/ journals and six narratives (primarily of sealers) have been examined. Whilst there are fewer of them than for the Cook voyages, their ships were mostly smaller with correspondingly less crew. Their stories are generally more candid and information dense and are supplemented with information from contemporary shipping reports of the Sydney Gazette, and with letters and government documents from New South Wales, gleaned and published by the late Robert McNab (c.1906) and from archival manuscripts in the Hocken and Turnbull libraries. Thus the available information on sealing/whaling mariners is different but just as informative. Because sealers spent extended periods ashore, their interaction with Māori took place over a longer time frame. From this perspective, therefore, they have been particularly valuable. Six captains 'stand out' for their long association with the 'seal fishery', the men who operated it, and the Māori people with whom they interacted. They are the aforementioned Captains Eber Bunker, an American, William Raven, William Wright Bampton and John Rodolphus Kent (all formerly of the British Royal Navy), James Kelly (Australian, and apparently not 'Navy-trained'), and William Andrew Anglem (Irish). The latter three had Māori wives. Official documents and archival manuscripts have been used to investigate the backgrounds of sealers and whalers, where possible. Interaction with Māori people, and information about them is visible in these logs, journals and narratives too. Supplemented with unofficial ethnographic manuscripts and published material about Māori customary practices at the time, the sealing and whaling material has enabled an interrogation of the silences about ordinary Māori people and their roles in intercultural encounters. Moreover, as the next chapter will show, minor things exchanged, such as fish and fishing gear, and their cultural meanings have been used to further clarify some of the intercultural encounters described in the journals. These objects and their agency have not really been considered in this context before.

In all journals and narratives examined, four issues 'stand out' as being common to, and influencing interactions on ship and shore, between sub-cultural worlds and cross-

culturally. Interactions with Māori people took place in both contexts, as indigenous people were present in one role or another on European ships almost from the very beginning of Pacific exploration. Furthermore, Māori had a long history of inter-*iwi* and inter-*hapu* transactions. Inter- cultural exchange was not new to anyone present. The issues that stand out are:

1. Imminent physical danger and fear (weather/sea conditions/starvation/'savages')
2. Theft and ownership
3. Objects and their role in exchange
4. Understandings of what the 'rules of exchange' were (including *utu* or payment which will be discussed inmore detail later in this chapter).

The chapter therefore examines the mariners' journals taking into account narratives of the 'major' parties like captains, officers and government officials, and also what 'minor parties' - ordinary seamen and junior officers - say about the issues and about other participants including those who have left no writings of their own. As much as possible, the constraints and opportunities provided by the contextual environments within which they were operating at the time, and the backgrounds from which they came, are taken into account[64].

Navy Ships and sailors

Salmond has said that life and social structures on board Royal Navy ships presented a microcosm of (male) British Society ashore at home, a view that is supported by the archival materials we have both examined (1991: 111). Salmond quotes traditional Rongowhakaata reports of Cook's first visit to Poverty Bay in the North Island in 1769 - that European ships were seen as floating islands with no women on them (1991: 123), and this is also how they seem to have been experienced, by the young seamen working aboard them. Their journals encompass numerous reports on 'ship work' - the routine everyday concerns of keeping the ship and its population 'alive':

> April. Thursday 1st. first part Calm, Middle & Latter Light Air. Got the Cables out of the Starb. side the Main Hold & the Forecastle to get Provisions at hand from under there… Boat fishing and carpenter cutting wood… Brewing Beer on Shore from a Tree of the Spruce kind…[sic]…
> Nov. 6th copper oven on shore to bake Damaged Bread Coopers & Sailmakers on shore some hands on shore Bartering ye Natives bringing fish for sail. 7th AM all ye Natives about ye ship went of their having stole our water casks [sic]
> (John Burr, masters mate, 1773)

The actual lived context for these (mostly) young men, youths, tradesmen and skilled 'able-bodied seamen' is important. From today's perspective it was amazing, I felt, looking up at the rigging of the Endeavour replica, the skill and courage required for

seamen to climb up and manoeuvre that ship as a team, with no modern winches, electronic equipment or harnesses, and to do so in a storm. It can have been no simple matter - but essential in 'keeping the ship alive'. The conscientious attitude these men had towards their work and each other is very apparent in the journals, reflecting perhaps, their 'work ethic'[65] as much as their naval duty and loyalty to each other. In many ways, in the life of the ship these embodied principles over-rode the tensions between people of different ranks and positions, but this does not mean that these tensions are absent from the journals[66]. They are present in the ranking structure of naval command, in the apportionment of resources and in the structure of the ship itself. For all the 'mariners' it was their home and form of transport. It embodied the rank system of the British navy, and was reinforced by the clothing they wore, the food they ate, the kinds of punishment they were subjected to, and their sleeping arrangements - which were all different for 'officers' and 'men'.

In the lives of the *men,* inter-rank tensions surfaced at times, particularly under extreme or exceptional conditions, such as the aforementioned imminent physical danger and deprivation or other situations that invoked fear such as uncertain encounters with 'savages' described here. Some men coped better than others in these situations, and it is how they are reported to have coped that gives us revealing insights into what actually happened in these inter-cultural encounters, and how both parties understood, negotiated and became adapted to them.

Arlidge has described the ranking structure and conditions on board British naval vessels in Cook's time. On the quarter-deck at the stern were stationed the lieutenants or 'sea' officers, commissioned by the Admiralty as the captain's assistants, including the lieutenant of marines. With them were the warrant officers including masters and surgeons appointed by the Navy Board. "Midshipmen and masters mates were the potential sea officers of the future" and most, but not all of them, were 'young gentlemen'. If correctly behaved and dressed, they also were permitted to "walk the quarter deck". The gunner, cook, carpenter, and boatswain were other warrant officers, occupying the fo'c'sle/foremast area. The "inferior officers" were "the armourer, sailmaker, surgeon's mates and the master-at-arms". Most ordinary sailors or 'men' and marines lived "forrard" (forward) of the mainmast (Rodger in Arlidge, 2004: 10-16). The distinction between 'officers' and 'men' was: " more than ordinarily marked. It was not only a naval distinction, but a sharp social one too. 'Officers' as contemporary society used that word, came from one walk of life, 'Men' from another, and it was not easy in

Society to pass from a lower stratum to a higher, so in the navy it was not easy for a 'Man' to become an Officer. But it was possible" (Lewis quoted in Arlidge 2004: 11).

Some 'men' were recruited from higher social strata than usual, for example John Elliot in Cook's crew. It is possible that he saw their potential, or that they were entranced by the idea of adventure in the South Seas with a famous Captain, and used their connections with him to 'gain a place'. There is evidence that Cook gave Mrs Cook's cousin Isaac Smith 'preferment' in some letters he wrote to the Admiralty in Smith's interest (McNab, 1914: 118). Some began as seamen on Cook's ships eventually becoming Admirals, but they were young, mixed on the lower decks with other ordinary seamen, and experienced life from that perspective - at least before their eventual promotion. They also wrote journals. Fourteen-year-old John Elliot from Yorkshire enlisted in the navy as a seaman as an eleven-year-old through the influence of a shipbroker uncle, and his 'Resolution journal' of Cook's second voyage provides an interesting commentary on the behaviour and character of his shipmates that is useful in interpreting what they wrote and did. Twenty-one-year-old seaman James Maxwell for example, is described by Eliot as a "hypocritical canting fellow" (1771: xxxi). Some men they mixed with on the lower deck, nineteen-year-old Georg Forster thought to be "[A] body of uncivilized men, rough, passionate, revengeful, but likewise brave, sincere and true to one another" and their behaviour is described by his father Johann: "Whilst the Officers & better people eat their meal, the Sailors dress theirs & give way to jollity & crack jokes, wherein you observe a good deal of genius & good nature, blended with roughness, bluntness, hearty curses, oaths and baudy expressions…"[sic][67]

The midshipmen on Cook's ships appear to have been 'in training' as to 'how' to write a ship's journal, for there are similarities in their journal formats. However, there are also apparent individualities, some are more informative and some, as Beaglehole has pointed out, are imitative (1954: ccxxvii). Again, what is important is the unique position these youths and young men had because of their primary duty to "carry… orders from the officers quartered in the stern, to the crew, quartered in the fo'c'sle", a task for which they are named[68]. Many midshipmen beginning their naval lives as ordinary seamen were promoted, thus gaining understanding and forming relationships with the 'men', even if they did not originally come from the same socio-economic circumstances. It was their job to cross boundaries between social worlds, probably a factor in their different perceptions of these worlds, and what they wrote about them. They also brought these skills and knowledge to other shipboard ranks if and when they were promoted,

sometimes even in the course of the same voyage, and in this way would have an advantage over other officers, who had not a similar experience. James Cook is an example, as chapter six describes.

Merchant ships and sailors

In some ways life on the small 30-80 ton merchant ships and naval vessels contracted to the colonial service in Port Jackson would have been similar, but perhaps more extreme. Rear Admiral Ross describes how these ships were used for communication, coastal exploration and transport in the New South Wales domain, extending to the South Island of New Zealand, Norfolk Island and the southern islands. "They were cargo-carrying sailing ships, refitted in the government dockyard and provisioned by the Commissariat, but… could carry freight for private persons" (1978:18). The ships *Mermaid*, *Snapper* and *Elizabeth Henrietta* all of which were at times involved in the transport of men and sealskins, were NSW government vessels, as was the little schooner *Francis* taken to Dusky Sound in 1793 to relieve a sealing gang left there by Captain Raven for an excessive time without provisions (ibid.). Journals, incidents and some 'men' from these voyages are involved in this story, but the main point being made is the small size of the vessels and the nature of their use, their crew having been recruited largely from the convict settlement of Port Jackson. They too included multicultural subaltern people, some sealing gangs including women, aboriginal Australians, *lascars*, Tahitians, Māori, Italians and Portuguese. As with Cook's crews, some ordinary sailors, who actually were 'of the better sort', were aboard them. One was John Boultbee whose journal, because he was literate, provides dense reflexive information on experiences with sealers and Māori, and all of the issues highlighted at the beginning of this chapter.

Some Sydney merchants were ex-convicts, who were not any more humane because of their 'transportation' experience (ibid: 19). Like some ex-navy captains such as Raven, they left their employees for extended periods in remote and inhospitable places with no provisions, and these 'men' then had to challenge them in court to obtain their *lay,* as happened in the case of Hasselberg's *Providence* gang at Macquarie island[69]. How the 'men' felt about this, is highlighted in the sealing song "David Lowry", already mentioned[70] although that song arose from a real situation where the supply ship went missing. Campbell, who owned the *Providence* was "from a 'well-to-do' Scottish family… licensed by the British East India Company" (Entwisle, 2005: 54) and like a number of ex-convict entrepreneurs, was exploiting the sealing and whaling 'fisheries'.

Because of strong competition and trade monopoly by the East India Company, there was much tension amongst them, and reluctance to reveal where gangs were stationed. This secrecy has been a problem in interpretation because it is difficult sometimes to establish exactly where the events described in the sealing logs were taking place, and hence which Māori groups were involved. It appears to have been a 'cut-throat' business where economics ruled and ship owners such as Campbell showed little responsibility towards their employees, as the court records show[68]. Seriously impoverished 'men' had to sue for their *lays*, after the appalling working conditions they had survived with no support. Captains must have felt strongly pressured by the need to 'turn a profit', a fact that helped to create this situation. Joan Druett has written of whaleships with women such as Captain's wives/daughters aboard[71]. She transcribed the journal of Eliza Underwood, written aboard the *Kingsdown* in 1830-1. It reveals the situation and how it affected the 'men':

> Saturday Jun 4 1831… Mr Underwood… had noticed Buckley of late grumbling and behaving very rudely to the officers and hearing him now swear about so much work… and he was so tired with carrying a few buckets of water along the deck he said he had been at work ever since three o'clock… continued to return insolent answers and Mr U to be more and more enraged… he would have no more of it… if one man attempted it he should be floged [sic] till he would go to his work… Sunday Jun 5th… Mr U said he should be ready to reason for his conduct anywhere as he had always been he was well known for he had conducted a ship for many years with credit to himself and satisfaction to his employers and did not fear what a set of discontented sailors could say. Milling said it would be seen what was thought of him when we reached England… whatever might have been his character before… he now treated his crew as if they were not fit to be spoken to… unless they could submit to lay[sic] down and be trodden on…
> (Eliza Underwood, ATL Micro-MS-0881)

It can only be wondered what Underwood wrote in *his* log for those days. One can compare this report on behaviour and its inference on impression management with what Captain John Balleny and his Mate of Enderby's whaling schooner *Eliza Scott* wrote at Chalky inlet in 1838:

> December 6th. Dull weather with rain, clearg hold &c. &c.[sic] On the passage out my barometer was broken & I endeavoured to take observations by the mountain barometer… I was glad to put it away… [no comments here about the men]
> (quoted in McNab, 1914, Vol 2: 562-571)

What the Mate said for the same day was quite different:

> Moderate (wind S.E.). Dryed sails and towed some Empty water Casks on Shore, got the Derrick up &c. This morning Joe and Davy, being drunk got fighting together which stoped the work going on as it should do. Davy did no duty the whole day. Tom likewise did no duty. Found out the Ships Comp, had broken into the Captains porter Cask and stole 15 bottles, the whole crew in a complete state of mutiny and insubordination [sic]
> (ibid.)

Again one can only wonder why the Captain chose not to mention these issues. Perhaps it may have reflected upon himself in his relation with his employer if he was

shown to take these matters too seriously. It is also evidence of tensions between officers and crew, and of the issue of resource distribution and power dynamics on board. We need also to be reminded of what kind of characters these whalers and sealers could be:

> I rather wished to go and see some of the islands of the South Sea, but could find no opportunity of getting to them and at last desperately situated… I went on board a miserable dirty schooner of 45 tons burthen, she was going on a sealing excursion… the crew were in all about 10 men… they were the refuse of merchant ships… some formerly convicts, thieves and scoundrels fit for no society, void of every good quality, and only one man on board had the principles of a man; he was fortunately master of them all…
> (Boultbee, sealer, 1824, Starke, ed. 1986:11)

In reality the crew consisted of the Captain and Chief Mate, a carpenter, five seamen from other vessels and two "New Zealand boys". They were short of provisions and firewood because the "French adventurer" owner[72] was short of cash, and they picked up "two common-looking downcast fellows" as they left port. Boultbee, the educated 'tearaway' felt himself to be superior to them all (ibid.). His subsequent experiences and survival on New Zealand shores must have been enhanced by interaction with these 'common' people. He came to see that they had good qualities too, and they even saved his life. It seems that they were not, perhaps, all that different from some of the seamen on Cook's ships described by the Forsters as will be shown in chapter six. Boultbee learned something from them about how to interact with 'others'.

Naval Rank, social class, ethnicity and gender can thus be shown as sources of tension and resentment on board all kinds of sailing-ships. In times when crossing the Tasman might take three weeks, sealing at Dusky Bay might be for seven months and a Pacific voyage might take three years, people had to cope. Cook chose his men carefully for the skills, knowledge and potential he thought they had and from knowledge of their backgrounds. This was also true of Bellingshausen. His choices were generally supported on application to the Admiralty and the Navy Board, and many he knew personally. Masters of small colonial vessels that Ross has described did not have that luxury, as their advertisements for crew in the Sydney Gazette would testify. Captain Bader advertised for "several active able men who will find proper encouragement." He also wanted " a person capable of the duty of chief mate". They were to apply to the captain on board the vessel. The captain had had his ship's fittings stolen while it was in dock - so life including finding suitable employees, was fairly tough in Port Jackson (McNab, 1909: 212). Merchant captains had a different focus in terms of voyage outcomes with a more immediate pressure of 'turning a profit' - either for their owners or for themselves and could afford to employ less experienced crew and to not pay them as well. Unlike Navy

Captains they did not have to run a combat-ready ship, or have Admiralty regulations to worry about, and manipulated trading opportunities to their best advantage. For example, although a Navy man prior to 1815, John Rodolphus Kent took advantage of his position as master of the government vessel *Mermaid* by taking what seems a "speculative voyage to the Fanning Islands to embark a cargo of beche-de-mer", between delivering some missionaries to Hawai'i and picking up a "load of salt pork for Port Jackson" (anon. n.d. Ross, ATL. MS-papers-1500). The missionaries were left away from home for considerably longer than expected and this has been criticised as evidence of Kent's self-interestedness on a personal level. Whatever Kent's reasons were, the enterprise could been seen also as benefitting the government for whom he was working (ibid.). The need to make a profit for the employer, and the existence of 'Asian Articles' of employment, where *lascar* sailors could be paid less, was therefore a feature of the merchant service, including in the whaling and sealing situations. Tensions between captains, officers and crew must have sometimes run very high and been exacerbated by pressure from ships' owners who were part of the economic chain of events[73]. As for Boultbee on the 30-80 ton local vessels, the interactions he experienced by working with people of different ranks and ethnicities facilitated his other intercultural interactions and understandings, as his journal describes[74]. Similarly, the conditions in which his employer expected him and his mates to work also appears to have been a contributing factor. The same was certainly true for John Kent, the captain who delivered him to Te Tai Poutini, and subsequently became a 'pākehā Māori' and very successful shore trader.

Some incidents and issues further elaborating how this happened will be discussed in the next section of this chapter, which focuses on the inter-cultural European-Māori situations in which perceptions of imminent danger, theft and ownership, payment and utu, and rules of exchange are discussed.

Some Cross- cultural Incidents and issues

Between Cook's *Endeavour* visit to Queen Charlotte Sound in 1769, and John Rodolphus Kent's visit to Open Bay and Dusky Sound in 1826, there were hundreds of visits by European ships and their multifaceted crew (Salmond, 1997: 518-33) mostly working for employers exploiting the coastal harbours to shelter, with natural resources to replenish and repair their ships and feed their crews. If the costs of voyages could be defrayed by capture of, or trade in items that would produce capital/items/ideas for sale in Europe or its colonies, improve understanding of 'other' humans and the natural world, or

extend the colonial sphere of influence, 'all the better'. In New Zealand the indigenous people were the 'filling in the sandwich'. They were often the means by which these objectives could be brought about, and understanding Māori and their 'world-view' was a key component for success. This understanding was not always achieved, partly because of ingrained Eurocentrism and its component discourses about the 'nature' of humanity, savagery, civilisation, theft and property ownership, law and punishment, gifting and trade[75]. Even within their own European societies people from different social/educational backgrounds, ranks and occupations experienced the effects of these discourses differently, which is exposed in situations of intercultural violence in New Zealand. Three cases of intercultural violence in different parts of the South Island are described briefly here, with possible ways that they relate to people of different ranks, positions, and ethnicities and their understandings/misunderstandings of the 'other' being encountered. More recent scholarly accounts of the Māori practice of *utu* are also outlined later in this chapter and used to tease out some understandings from these three transactional incidents.

December 1773- The "Grass Cove Incident" at Queen Charlotte Sound

Captain Tobias Furneaux of *H.M.S. Adventure*, Cook's consort ship on the second voyage, had, through difficult weather conditions at Dusky Bay, become separated from Cook, and was moored at Queen Charlotte Sound preparing to leave, so he sent a party in the ship's cutter to collect anti-scorbutic greens for the crew. Those detailed were John Rowe the master's mate, the quartermaster, the Captain's black servant James Tobias Sevilley and six able seamen "which were the [b]est men and seamen on the ship" (Arthur Kempe, 19th Mar. 1773), to row the boat. They had with them 5 muskets, 3 fowling pieces and 3 cutlasses, and were attacked, killed and eaten by a group of Māori. Lieutenant Burney and ten armed marines went in the launch looking for them the morning after they had failed to return as ordered at 3pm, and after looking in several bays saw a "very large double canoe hauled up on a beach next to Grass Cove" (in Salmond, 1992: 102). He witnessed the immediate aftermath. When Captain Furneaux reported this to the Admiralty he used the words of Lieut. Burney, the actual witness:

> … a great many baskets (about 20) laying on the beach tied up, we cut them open; some... full of roasted flesh… some… fern root. On further search we found more shoes and a hand… Thos Hill one of our Forecastlemen… marked T.H with an Otaheite tattow…

> on the beach were 2 bundles of Cellery… a broken oar was stuck upright in the ground to which they had tied their lances… We found no boat… [but] such a shocking scene of carnage and Barbarity… I did not think it worthwhile to proceed where nothing could be hoped for but revenge… We brought on board 2 hands one belonging to Mr Rowe [known by an old injury]… the other Thomas Hill… and the head of the Captn's servant. These with more of the remains were tied in a hammock and thrown overboard with ballast &[sic] shot sufficient to sink it. We found none of their Arms or cloathes except a pair of trowsers, a frock and 6 shoes, no 2 of them being fellows [sic]
> (Burney 1773, in McNab, 1914: 52-55)

> … and at a small distance off, lay their Entrails which the Dogs were knawing on… the Boat was quite taken away with her masts, oar's, sails, grapnels…
> (A. Kempe, MS. jnl. Sun Dec 19th 1773)

The only *eyewitness* reports of the actual 'massacre' are from Māori informants who described the incident to Cook and others *four years* after the event. These reports are recounted in the journal of astronomer Bayly (who spoke some Māori) and with the aid of Mai, a Tahitian aboard Resolution when they visited Ship's Cove in February 1777:

> ... one was given… by Kaiwooroo[sic.Kahura, a chief]. He said that our people were at dinner on shore with only the Black… left to keep the Boat and that Kaiwooroo and his people were set down with them… one of his people stole a jacket… the Black struck him across the head with a stick or sword in its scabbard… on which the man cried out he was Mattied[76] viz kill'd ; which made… [them] rise up and attack our people. He says [the officer] jumped up and shot two of his men… he then killed them all but kept the… officer till last.

Another account from a boy of 15 called Tibbarooa [sic., son of a chief] is similar, but the jacket, according to this account, was stolen from a seaman who knocked the thief down, Rowe shot two men and cut Kiwooroo on the arm with a sword, tried to get to the boat and everyone was killed in the fray that ensued (Bayly, 1777, in McNab, 1914: 219). A different version of this Māori story was told to Cook and reported by him and King, where Kahura [aka. Kiwooroo] had offered a hatchet, and when he obtained nothing in return they grabbed some bread. This caused an altercation, in which Rowe fired and killed one person. Anderson's version of that, which Cook obtained via Matahoua (aka. Pedro), conforms basically with that of Cook, although the hatchet does not appear (in Salmond, 1997: 122). Zimmermann describes the account of Matahoua (aka. Pedro):

> The murder was committed because one of the sailors had stolen something from the hut of one of the inhabitants, and when the latter demanded it back again, one of them was struck… Pedro , who had struck down the first man and who had been the one chiefly concerned in the matter, was often on board our ships…
> (1781: 14)

Because of the remarkable agreement of all the other stories, one wonders whether this interpretation is Zimmerman's own and whether he was present during the telling of Matahoura's account. If it is his own interpretation, this suggests that he is beginning to come to terms with the concept of *utu*, and thinks that theft by one of the crew is a possibility. However, regardless of whether the item taken was a coat, a hatchet or bread

or all three, or indeed who stole it, and from whom, there appears to be agreement that Furneaux's men were eating at the time, something was taken, Rowe was the person who fired, a number of people were killed as a result and "inequity in exchange [was] at the heart of the matter" (Barber, 1999: 161-3). There is no question of what happened to them afterwards - they were cooked and eaten in a feast that Salmond describes as a *whangāi hau,* "in which the hau of their comrades (and their ancestors) was being fed to the ancestors" (ibid: 104). This and the "inequity of exchange" need to be examined much more closely to assess how they are "at the heart of the matter".

Māori cosmological ideas and their concept of *utu* are seriously involved here, as is also their notion of property and what constitutes theft. The reported behaviour of the Europeans and Māori expose the understandings that each party had, as well perhaps, as the involvement of emotions (including fear) in their contingent decision-making and action. Some clarification can be gained from considering why Rowe fired, who was armed, and the precursor events which led up to it, because all these basic features are held in common with the other two incidents which follow.

It is noteworthy that the identifiable body-parts which Burney and his men brought back to the ship were from three persons who were in some way *different* from the other crew of the cutter, and are noted in the reports from Queen Charlotte Sound. None was an officer. James Sevilley, the Captain's steward, was black and according to Bayly's Māori report he defended the cutter when the 'theft' occurred by hitting the thief with a blunt instrument i.e. "a stick or a cutlass in its scabbard". He was obviously not intending to inflict a serious injury. He was a steward, not a fighter. According to King's account, he was the last to fall (in Barber, op.cit: 162). Why was it *his* head that they decided to keep? Thomas Hill was perhaps a bit unpredictable. He had been "recently flogged for insolence" and had had his hand tattooed in Tahiti with his initials. This hand also survived (Salmond, ibid: 103). Likewise John Rowe who had sailed as master's mate, was demoted during the voyage to AB.[77], and then reinstated. Furneaux reported, in relation to this incident that:

> As Mr Rowe had left the ship an hour before the time proposed, and *in a great hurry*, I was strongly persuaded that his *curiosity* had carried him into East Bay, none of our ship having ever been there, or else that some accident had happened to the boat… this was almost everybody's opinion.
> (Furneaux, Dec. 1773 in Cook, 1777, my emphasis)

Furthermore, George Forster suggested Rowe's "liberal sentiments" were combined with "the prejudices of a naval education [and] induced him to look upon all natives of

the South Sea with contempt, and to assume that kind of right over them, which the Spaniards, in more barbarous ages, disposed of the lives of the American Indians". He was also regarded as impetuous because without the dissuasion of Lieut. Burney he would have fired upon some people at Tolaga Bay for stealing a brandy keg (Barber op.cit: 166; Salmond: 104-5). All this suggests that Rowe, with his experience in the world of the ordinary seaman, the warrant officer and the 'ethnic other' never quite managed to negotiate the divides successfully, although as Forster noted, he had the potential, with his "liberal sentiments". He was "an unfortunate youth" (in Salmond, 1992: 104). His hand survived the Grass Cove incident also. I suggest that these men, particularly Rowe, had key roles in the outcome because of their contingent behaviour as well as their habitus. The immediate situation involved them in sitting around eating without offering the Māori, whose beach they were sitting on, anything to eat.

The story of this incident has been evaluated and re-evaluated by numerous authors, but I raise it here because it has certain features in common with subsequent violent incidents between Māori and Europeans in Te Wai Pounamu in the early nineteenth century, namely:

The key role of risk-taking individuals

Misinterpretation of the Māori customary concept of *utu* and the Māori word *mate*

The role of (sometimes unknown) precursor events

Fear

Different understandings of theft and ownership

Subsequent representation as being evidence of Māori savagery.

Burney, son of the musicologist Charles Burney, and friend of Banks and writer Samuel Johnson, was described by Trevenan as: "not only a good man, but a good seaman, and a good officer" (Robson, 2008[78]). George Forster, whose book was the first published source of the Māori story said that "we had no reason to doubt the veracity… since they accused their own countrymen of theft", and "Savages do not give up the right of retaliating injuries; but civilised societies confer on certain individuals the power and the duty to revenge their wrongs." Māori were thus savages and the British were not. Cook said, "the story of the hatchet was certainly invented to make [the British] look like the first aggressors" (quoted in Barber, 1999:160-2). In this reading it shows that Cook was unaware of the significance of the pre-cursor events ashore involving theft of Bayly's astronomical gear and his shooting at them in response. It also indicates his insensitivity at that point to the value that Māori placed upon hatchets, unless of course they were

hungry (Bayly, ATL.MS-Copy-Micro-0343. jnl, 14-18 Dec. 1773). Barber has raised a very convincing argument that Māori food resources were under stress because of their seasonal nature and the necessity to provide for the winter months by preparing dried food for the forthcoming season of want. "The expeditionary record suggests that the Europeans were often unaware of, or chose not to consider, the intrusion of their subsistence demands" (ibid: 167-9). If this is so, then it is not the first time that there were incidents of violence associated with pressure on food resources, although this aspect is only one component of the issue.

12 December 1817- The Sophia at Port Daniel (Otakou)

This incident occurred when the sealing brig *Sophia* stopped at Otago from Hobart to barter for potatoes. They had been there before, and so had some of the crew. A boat went ashore with Captain James Kelly, three officers and six crew. The bartering deal 'fell through'. Three Europeans and a number of Māori were killed. There are two reports of what happened - one European[79] *a year afterwards,* and one Māori version collected by the missionary Charles Creed about 1849 and recently published by Peter Entwisle (2005, Appendix VI; ATL.MS-papers-1187/201-2). This excerpt, from the European version, was re-published in the Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society in 1895:

> Mr Kelly went in his boat with six men… to Small Bay - outside the harbour's mouth and distant from the vessel about two miles. The natives… received them kindly… Tucker… by the name of 'Wioree'. Mr Kelly made the chief of the village a small present of iron and proceeded to his dwelling to barter for potatoes - leaving one man to look after the boat. On reaching the house… Mr Kelly was saluted by a Lascar, who told him that he had been left there by the brig 'Matilda'… [from which seven] men had been killed and eaten… The lascar then offered his services in bartering for potatoes and appeared familiar with the native tongue. By this time… about sixty… were in the yard of the chiefs house where the boat's crew were standing…

The story goes on to say that Kelly fought his way out of the ensuing fracas with a billhook, they ran for the boat, Tucker and two others were killed, and the others got away to their boat where they found about 150 natives and their chief 'Corokar'[Korako] on board. They formed up and fought them off with sealing knives, killing about fifty and "after cleaning up and washing down the decks we sat down and congratulated each other on the very narrow escape we had from being taken and murdered by these savages… ". Their chief was shot through the neck the next morning as he tried to jump overboard.

John Kelly was a celebrated Australian captain of humble origins who became a wealthy landowner. Tucker was his brother-in-law.

> Captain Kelly regrets having listened to the persuasions of Tucker and the wish of the other men to go on shore the second day without firearms, to which the loss of three unfortunate men may be attributed. Tucker's confidence, however deceived, was founded on some experience, and Captain Kelly has some reason to believe that these natives… were fired in their revenge by the recollection of two or more of their people being shot by Europeans
> (Hobart Gazette in TPRSNZ, Vol 28: 141-7)

Kelly subsequently discovered that on a previous voyage in 1811 Tucker had stolen a preserved head from some people at Riverton and sold it in Sydney. The story of Tucker's chequered career in Sydney as a thief of the European variety, has been expanded upon by Entwisle (2005)[80].

The Creed manuscript transcribed from MS papers written c.1848-50 appears to have been from accounts told to Creed by Māori. He operated the Waikouaiti mission, his Māori informants including Otago Māori. The story is that Taka lived for two years at Wariakiaki [sic, Whareakeake], afterwards going to Hobart for 3-4 years. In the margin of the manuscript is a note that he had lived 2-3 years with a native woman but had no children. Many ships came and went but still no Taka. He later returned and after stopping at Molyneux went to Otago. The story is clearly one told by a Māori but written by a European:

> The boat just landed from the ship Taka being desirous of seeing his place and the people with whom he had been living - Ko te Matahaere i pouri tona ngakau [Matahaere's heart was sad/ distressed] When Taka went in the house to see the things the old man seized the captain to kill him… at length the captain… his billhook & struck the old man on the head - the old man lost his hold- the captain fled to his boat - The Son of the old man seeing his father wounded slew two Europeans a third wounded-Captain and two men got the boat into the water
> (Creed, missionary, c.1849, ATL.MS- Papers-1187-201)

The individuals involved are named, including Korako, Taiaroa's father, who was bound in chains when they found some natives on board, including 3 women who were killed and thrown overboard. In this story Korako was not killed as he jumped overboard in chains, but was shot in the legs and reached the canoe, while the Europeans fled and none returned for perhaps 10 years. "Many years after the Natives of this place… went to Stewart Island" a quarrel insuing [sic] about an American, they killed and eat him - he was sentry over the food sealskins &c [sic]… " (ibid.)

Again, as with the Grass Cove incident, the two versions of the 'Taka' story and the ship Sophia in 1817 concur in many details, and there is a certain agreement that *utu* and particular people and things were involved, and the Europeans representing Māori as savages, although there appears to be a developing awareness that reprisal can be expected at times. The use of the billhook as a weapon, and the shooting of Korako are also common to the stories. The question here is why was Matahaere's heart sad? Perhaps

he was related to Taka's Maori wife, or because he knew of Taka's theft of the head. Furthermore we have no record of what the lascar actually said in translation during the deal. He had after all become a 'pākehā Māori'. We will never know, but *utu* is unquestionably involved, either for theft or violence - one can wait for years before there is closure - a Māori explanation, not just an inference. That Kelly and some others survived at all is probably due to his precaution of taking a billhook with him despite Tucker's assurances that he didn't need to. He too had spent his life interacting with 'others' - including Taka, convicts, seamen, sealers and Māori, so had a 'social toolkit' to use in this new situation.

May 1826 – The brig Elizabeth at Open Bay-Dusky Bay

The *Elizabeth*'s Captain, John Rodolphus Kent disembarked her three whaleboats on the coast between Dusky Sound and Bruce Bay in what is now South Westland in early winter 1826. It was a time of internecine strife. There are three narratives of this altercation also - a specific European one written by the sealer John Boultbee from personal experience, and two Māori traditions - one recorded by the late Herries Beattie from Mrs Haberfield whose father was there, one by Mrs Wybrow whose father Captain Perkins was killed there (Starke, 1986: 42), and the tradition of Kāti Makāwhio whose descendants still inhabit the area.

The sealers were given 6 months provisions, 6 muskets and an Australian dog, although they declined three muskets because Perkins said they would make the boat too heavy. Boultbee's crew was to range about 100 miles northwards catching seals. They consisted of 'Captain' Perkins, the Boatsteerer who had been there previously in 1824 (Starke, 1986: 40) John Boultbee, Price and two others:

> We had a keg of gunpowder, 2 or 300 balls etc. The Boatsteerer said we might… fall in with natives, and… should make a few cartridges… On our way we had occasion to haul up at different places along the coast… we did not see any traces of natives, till we came to Open Bay, where on the beach we saw a broken spear and a pair of porraras [flax sandals]… We hauled up our boat on Open Bay island… a most difficult task we had, the place being steep… broken rocks… high water the surf beating against the boat so as to endanger her…
> (Boultbee in Starke, 1986: 39-40)

They found an old hut containing provisions left by a previous ship's captain who had lost his mate killed by natives. They found vegetables growing, used up the other person's provisions, and the following morning set off to a small island to stash their sealskins and salt "in case of cannibals attacking us" to enable an easy retreat. The boatsteerer warned them that natives usually attack in the early morning to have an

element of surprise, and if attacked should run to the boats and fire at them from offshore once the boat was launched. They encountered Māori at North Head:

> The natives about this place are a set of runaways from the settlements… about Banks's island who have… formed a tribe of about 500… lead a life of predatory warfare, plundering and murdering, alike, boats crews, and defenceless people of other tribes.
> (Boultbee in Starke, 1986: 42)

One wonders whether Boultbee's education is surfacing here, his interpretation of the Tai Poutini Māori equating to the enlightenment concept that a non-sedentary lifestyle means that they are more savage. In fact, as Starke (1986: 42) states, they could have been refugees from the intra-tribal Kai Tahu conflict known as Kai Huanga then occurring on the East Coast of the South Island, and would have included some of those *tipuna* (ancestors) now depicted in the new *wharenui* (meeting house) recently built at Bruce Bay, together with the *tukutuku* panels named "Kekeno" (seals) that memorialise this particular inter-cultural encounter (op.cit., Chapter two).

While asleep in a cave the sealers heard a musket and voices, and ran out, Boultbee loading his musket and firing it towards the Māori. They 'made it' to the boat but were unable to move it.

> I snatched up the after oar… swung it with all my strength… in this state of desperation and struck the native on the arm with the blade… fear had left me… I had also the satisfaction to hear two of my boatmates, firing amongst the natives… our kangaroo dog biting… the darkness of the night preventing them from seeing the smallness of our numbers…we had the satisfaction to see ourselves afloat once more… [but] two of our party missing… we were now only four in number…
> (Boultbee, in Starke: 48-9)

They eventually met up with the other sealing gangs and set off for Dusky Sound. According to Beattie's informants a previous sealing gang had shot the Māori "Nukutahi" at Paringa River, and they "tried to capture a sealer's boat near the blowhole". In their hurry to get the boat, they made so much noise that one sealer (it seems to have been Boultbee) noticed, and led them out of the cave where they could have been trapped. Captain Perkins went back into the cave to retrieve his gunpowder and was killed with a *taiaha* (longstaff club) by Toko. The sealers tried to launch the boat while the Māoris tried to hold it back in a kind of tug-of-war. When it was launched they raided the sealer's camp and gained some freshly baked bread, some clothes and a camp oven. Kajaki [sic], Mrs Barrett's ancestor, got the bread and is reputed to have danced a *haka* with it in his hand (Beattie, in Starke, p. 43). All these situational facts excepting the knowledge of the prior killing of Nukutahi [sic] are supported by Boultbee's journal narrative.

A more recent narrative from the Kāti Makāwhio people of Bruce Bay, whose ancestors were the Māori actors in this real drama, states that in the precursor incident at Paringa those killed were "Nukutihi, his wife Tihotiho and some children" and their comments about the aftermath are:

> But the utu demanded by our tipuna was nothing compared to the revenge exacted by the sealers, who returned to Okahu Pa, at the mouth of the Arawhata, and again shot everyone in sight. Still not satisfied the sealers took their revenge on some innocent Murihiku Ngāi Tahu who had travelled round to Piopiotahi for tangiwai [greenstone]. A chief, Hupokeka, was shot while standing on a rock in Anita Bay, and the rest of his people… were placed in a canoe… towed around to Anita Bay… [and] let go in the pounding surf, drowning all on board
> (Austin, Barr & Rochford, 2005: 30)

As described in Chapter two the incident has become embodied in the *wharenui* (meeting house) "Kaipō" at Bruce Bay, as part of the *tukutuku* (woven) panels "Kekeno" where they are watched over by the ancestors who are still with us, embodied in the carved *pou* previously described.

Boultbee's journal fails to mention their exacting of revenge, but the killing of Murihiku Ngāi Tahu at Piopiotahi (Boultbee's 'Milford Haven') seems possible as they headed South after the incident, meeting up with two other gangs which had been set down also by the *Sydney Cove*. Since Boultbee's journal of the days following the incident describes only being at sea, one wonders if the other two gangs may have killed Hupokeka and his people.

Thus for the conflict at Open Bay we have another situation of *utu* being invoked, (and in the more recent Māori narrative specifically mentioned) and the pākehā concerned being ignorant of why they were attacked. At this point it is likely that Boultbee would not have understood, and would have considered that Māori were savages compared with the idealised people he was hoping to meet with in the Pacific when he first set out for Australia. His knowledge and understanding of 'others' were expanding. He had already learned to live amongst mostly convict sealers in Bass Strait aboard the *Star* - who had called him a 'swell' and didn't trust him. By the time this inter-cultural stoush occurred he was beginning to feel more comfortable in the company of his European 'others'. It is amazing what shared adversity can do:

> In the Evening we arrived safe at Georges harbour; here we all got a change of clothes, and made a large blazing fire… boiled some tea; this and our substantial but coarse food - pork and cake baked in the ashes, refreshed us, and after a few songs, corresponding with the characters and manners of the parties, we wrapped ourselves up in our blankets, careless how the world went and free from those anxieties for the future, which are the bane of human comfort. You will see, my friends I had now become an altered person and changed from the delicate youth, to as rough a piece of goods as ever weathered the wide world.

> At times when weather bound… we passed our days… sometimes listening to wonderful stories related by one of our party… I joined the gaping audience without betraying any contempt for this harmless and ignorant pastime. I am of the opinion, it is necessary in some cases to comply with the manners and customs of those people, amongst whom, it is one's fate to be placed. At this time I had seen so much of life, that I could lay aside my usual manner, and suit myself to any company, with the same degree of ease with which I could change an old coat for a new one. (ibid: 49, 52)

As chapter six shows, this middle class 'tearaway,' who regretted having 'let his father down' (for which reason he wrote the journal), was able to use his new philosophical approach to 'others' and the skills and knowledge now incorporated as part of his habitus, to good effect when he later had more peaceable encounters with Māori, where retributive and violent *utu* were not a feature. By 1828 more understanding of the way that Māori retribution operated was filtering into Western discourse, especially amongst officials from New South Wales and amongst the increasing number of whalers, sealers and traders who came to inhabit these shores. Those most responsible for its effective dissemination, I contend, were people like John Boultbee and John Rhodolphus Kent who had lived in more than one 'world' before. They were thus enabled more readily to live comfortably in the Māori world also. *Utu*, as we have seen is a prominent feature of this Māori world, woven into almost every activity. It is not only in one of its guises of retributive justice as most Western discourse sees it, but is implicated in every activity that is holistic and balanced. The next section therefore briefly discusses the contemporary European understanding of theft and punishment and the Māori idea of *utu* as it is exposed in the interactions and archival material just described, and as it has been described by more recent ethnographers. The understanding of all exchange in the Māori world - exchange amongst living persons, between the ancestors who are always present and their descendants, and between the gods and their descendants (who are the ancestors), requires a knowledge of *utu*. Transactions with the natural world - the land and sea and their inhabitants, and the maintenance of relationships with them are also involved in this scheme where *utu* is involved.

Theft as a social interaction

The aforementioned incidents at Whareuunga Bay ('Grass Cove'), Otakou (Port Daniel/Otago) and Whakapoai (Open Bay/Bruce Bay), could be deemed to involve *anti*-social behaviour, but they exposed aspects of human sociality in its different guises being understood differently by the various parties, who were from different social classes, ethnicities and social experience. Their worlds overlapped but were also different. This thesis has argued for a history 'in the round' provided by examining the different views

and dimensions provided by subaltern persons, records available to us from traditional oral sources and from new readings of earlier interpretive works. As O'Regan said, different traditional sources can be compared and cross-checked with each other (chapter one) although it remains important to bear in mind that distortions can arise from impression management by officers chiefs and subalterns wishing to make themselves seem more important than they really were, which Gray emphasised (chapter one). The journals and archival material described here nevertheless include such sources since no history is devoid of these issues. The same situation at Whareūnga Bay is described differently by Captain James Cook, navigator and Commander; William Bayly, astronomer; James Burney, Lieutenant and writer; Sam Maxwell, seaman; Heinrich Zimmerman, seaman; John Watts Midshipman, Love Constable, Midshipman; Robert Browne, seaman; Arthur Kempe, Lieutenant; James King, Lieutenant; Chief Kahura; Chief's son "Tibbarooa" and Māori informant "Pedro". George Forster's comment in relation to this issue supports the view that all descriptions contribute to a better understanding of the whole. Each person viewed the same situation through a different lens: "The natives were repeatedly questioned and in every conversation we discovered some additional circumstance by which the fact was more clearly established" (G. Forster, quoted in Barber, 1999: 159).

Sahlins's view about this aspect of interpretation is also relevant:

> A report sufficiently different from and similar to [another]… as to confirm that the [activity described] had indeed occurred, and had been witnessed by more than one of the crew… [It] also contradicts it in enough detail… to establish its independent status, while corresponding closely enough in the depiction of the [activities] to demonstrate plainly that they were speaking of the same events.
> (2003:5)

Europeans' understandings were influenced by 'Western' comprehension of 'theft', 'ownership' and what constitutes appropriate 'payment' and this may have had a different focus, depending upon the age and social world of the observer and writer. The cultural understanding would have been different for Māori, though the idea that a differing focus in reports by different observers may serve to reinforce the veracity of the observations may still have applied.

The eighteenth century European understanding of theft would have been based primarily on matters discussed in chapter three, where property is privately owned, unless you are an uncivilised savage, as Pocock said (1992: 34). When a 'Western' person's own property is under threat s/he is likely to revert spontaneously to this understanding, regardless of any reflexive considerations that the 'other' may be 'savage' and have a

different viewpoint. On a ship, outside of one's 'home territory' where anxiety that replacement for the 'stolen' resource is not possible, then this would be particularly true. In a land of 'savages' what about their 'property'? Is it 'up for grabs'? In terms of the official voyaging instructions, it seems not, as voyagers from the seventeenth century were all told to respect the ownership rights of the 'natives'. In the colonial period this was also true of the orders given out by Governor King (McNab, 1908: 257). However, these instructions also directed the navigators to erect flags indicating their right of jurisdiction with permission of the natives, who had a different understanding of what it meant. At this point we are dealing principally with transportable material property that can be removed from its owner, and the important aspect affecting this kind of ownership issue is *theft*. In European minds theft is defined by written law, but the practical interpretation of this for many ordinary people is that law, like ethics, has different amounts of 'worth' depending on the 'world' in which it is operating (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1999: 359). E.P.Thompson describes the "inarticulate majority [who]… leave few records of their thoughts… we catch glimpses in moments of crisis… yet crisis is not a typical condition" (1968: 59-60). He applies this to the English working classes, from whose social circumstances the majority of the seamen described originated, but it is probably equally true of other subaltern people. A further complicating factor in this 'ownership and theft' issue for eighteenth and nineteenth century sailors would be the biblical injunctions they would have been liberally indoctrinated with as children - to not covet one's neighbour's property etc. For some crew members this would have been particularly true, and their religious viewpoints are suggested in their journals, together with comments about their officers and workmates; Elliot, for example, describes one crewmate as "Jesuitical, sensible but an insinuating litigious mischief making fellow", and Zimmermann says that Cook "never mentioned religion… [he] was just and upright in all his dealings" (ibid: 49). Cook's Quaker connections are perhaps indicated by his moderate reaction to the Grass Cove incident:

> If these thefts had not unfortunately been too hastily resented no ill consequence had attended for Kahoura's greatest enemies… owned that he [Kahoura] had no intention to quarrel, much less kill (Cook, quoted by Elliot, Holmes (ed), 1984: 36)

Aside from the religious self-righteousness of some sailors and officials like J.R. Forster, who accused his shipmates of having "base and mean, dirty principles, beneath any man of Sense [sic]… but it cannot be otherwise expected" (in Dettelbach, 1966: xviii),

> [W]e must [also] realise that there have always persisted popular attitudes towards crime amounting at times to an unwritten code, quite distinct from the laws of the land. Certain crimes were outlawed by both codes… but other crimes were actively condoned by whole communities- coining, poaching… evasion of tax… excise or pressgang… On the other hand… sheep stealing… stealing cloth… excited popular condemnation…
> (E.P.Thompson, 1968: 64)

The influence of Enlightenment thinking had been to question the various traditional religious interpretations of what is 'right and good', and encourage ordinary people to 'think for themselves' as Hume proposed (op.cit. chapter three), but on the other hand the backlash from the gentry and traditional clergy threatened thereby with loss of privilege and power, resulted for France in revolution, and in England in an increasing number of laws made and harsh punishments incurred (E.P.Thompson, ibid. op.cit.). Cook's, Burney's and Forster's comments, and the reactions of the ordinary folk referred to by Thompson reflect not only their personal religious and philosophical backgrounds, but also the fluid and flexible nature of public discourse in which some conflicts between ethics and religion were becoming apparent at that time. Nevertheless, for the ordinary seaman, the cat-o-nine-tails in Cook's *Endeavour* hung on the wall by the hammocks and mess tables between decks. Merchant ships were no different. The men were afraid of the 'thieves cat'[81], which did not stop some of them from thieving. The incentive must have been great, or maybe some thought that the adventure was 'worth it':

> Mthw. Cox, Henry Stevens, Man. Paroya… lashes for leaving duty &[sic] digging up potatoes from… plantations
> (James Cook, 30/11/1769)
>
> … punished Rich'd Lee Seaman with a Dozen for stealing from the Natives
> (Alex. Hood, aged 14, 23/11/1773)

Perhaps stealing from the 'natives' was not seen by the sailors to be as reprehensible as stealing from one's shipmates, because 'natives' were seen by some as inferior, being 'savages' without laws, civilisation or property as Pocock has explained (chapter three). However Cook certainly did not have this view, because he punished them. Similarly, stealing from one's 'superiors' may have been the situation in the following incident described by sealer Robert Murry (the food stolen perhaps being seen as the property of the employer):

> … discovered… some rascals had broke open the Tank in which the Rice was kept and stolen a considerable quantity… a search was made for obtaining knowledge of persons so void of sense and honesty… several of the Steersmen having been seen in the act... Cn B. delivered them to be punished by the People on shore which was done
> (23/10/1795)

So sailors stole from each other as well as from the 'natives', and there is even one instance when astronomer Bayly describes three Lieutenants, the surgeon and a midshipman trying to break into his 'cabbin' when he was in bed, striking him and demanding grog in the middle of the night[82] suggesting that at least some instances may have been fueled by alcohol, or even by hunger.

Māori were frequently accused of theft, and in the early period of *Endeavour's* visit it is clear that they didn't initially understand the European 'rules'. It is equally clear that the Europeans did not even come close to understanding the Māori 'rules'. The issue of how Māori 'traded' and what happened will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter about exchange, but as already indicated, the purpose here is to raise the issue that Western notions of theft and exchange are not appropriate for explaining this, and in the violent episodes at 'Grass Cove', Otago, and Bruce Bay it is clear that there were what Māori perceived as "inequalities of exchange", as Barber has said (1991: 1-3). The Māori concept of *utu*, goes some way towards explaining their reported behaviour.

Metge in her recent article on *utu* and intergroup relationships (2002: 311-338) states that she considers Firth's work on *utu* to be deficient in the metaphysical aspect that she believes to be "too prominent [as an ordering principle] in Māori thinking to be ignored". She points out that recent writings on Māori epistemology and cosmology such as those of Barlow (1991), Marsden (1975), Patterson (1992) Salmond (1976, 1982) mention *utu* only marginally and that this is only beginning to be addressed by current Māori experts (ibid: 320). Both Salmond and Patterson think of it in terms of 'balanced exchange' but Metge considers that this omits another key aspect - 'delayed return' (ibid: 317). This chapter addresses the issue of *utu,* as a means of understanding more fully the 'imbalance in exchange' in early Māori-European transactions, and in 'theft' and violence more generally. For the three cases discussed earlier in the chapter, examination of archival texts and more recent writings of Buck, Marsden, Metge, and Salmond is used in the interpretation. The "Taranaki report: Kaupapa Tuatahi" (1996)[83], is revealing in its comparison of European and Māori ideas of contracts, their protocols and expectations, stating that for the English, "a personal relationship or affection between the parties is not a prerequisite to mutuality… it is expected that both parties will gain, and [afterwards] the relationship between them will end". The opposite is true for Māori, for whom 'exchange contracts' are about building relationships and alliances. This is, as Metge said, "deficient in the metaphysical dimension", but it reveals how the European view is actually opposite to the Māori one. Richards has stated that European sealers had described how they

"adopt[ed] the native mode of obtaining satisfaction, by killing the next party they met with" (1995b: 77), and it seems to have been so in all three cases mentioned here, inferring that their understanding of *utu* was 'revenge killing' or 'capital punishment'. The aforementioned principle of balance, however, involves more than that. Boltanski and Thévenot, speaking of European society, have elaborated upon the notion of 'orders of worth' which apply in each of the different worlds we inhabit - the civic world, the industrial world etc. where the 'orders of worth' by which people make ethical judgements about such things as exchange, are not always equal (1999: 157-9). It is argued here that both Māori and Pākehā inhabited different worlds, within each of which different 'orders of worth' apply. The world of the cross-cultural encounter was complicated by the different orders of worth that each party brought to the meeting from each of the other 'worlds' they inhabited. For Māori a red blanket and a *kete* of potatoes could not really be equated; neither could a red blanket belonging to a chief be equated with one belonging to a commoner. The connections with *mana* are different. For a European, a red blanket is a red blanket, and the value is the same. Moreover for Māori, an old red blanket might actually be more valuable than a new one. These mis-understandings created many problems in the early encounters described here. In this reading, *utu* is intertwined with *mana,* which Māori Marsden defines as "authority and power" or "lawful permission delegated by the gods to their human agents and accompanied by the spiritual power to act on their behalf…" (1975: 194). It seems that, for Māori, matters such as *mana*, *tapu* and *utu* were universal and did not follow different orders of worth in different worlds. That Europeans did not know this would have been a surprise to Māori. Metge emphasises the importance of increasing one's *mana* or that of the tribe, to which there was a metaphysical dimension. Although certain persons and groups had *mana* because of their descent, they were still able to increase it by building alliances "by generous giving", which Metge describes as positive *utu*, and "to protect against loss by repaying negative gifts in kind" (ibid: 321). Thus the need for balance was metaphysical in origin. White describes how persons could incur the anger of the gods (and their *utu*) by inadvertently cutting down/burning a sacred tree:

> But woe to him when some Māori passed by the 'wahi tapu' [sacred place] has been defiled.[The Māori becomes enraged and threatens to kill the unsuspecting defiler] Perhaps a blanket is demanded as "utu" payment… After great discussion the matter is adjusted a small present is given the offended Native walks moodily away… *dreading the anger and vengeance of the Gods for the desecration of the Wahi Tapu*.
> (White, ATL. MS-papers-1187-202: 11- my emphasis)

Utu can be shown to involve payment for various transgressions and inequalities in payment, not only in 'gift' or material transactions, but also involving personal insults, such as humorous remarks likening a chief to a fish because of colour. This would diminish the *mana* and prestige of the tribe whom he represents. The greater the *mana,* the greater was the requirement for *utu* (Buck, 1949: 387). Inadequate payment for the status would be deemed a slight on the *mana* of the individual concerned and necessitate negative *utu*. Shortland describes a theft by two young men at his house. One of the 'culprits' was the son of a chief, whose father gave Shortland half an acre of land as *utu* (1856: 240). Exchange "produce[s] a continuing imbalance" so that there is a continuing obligation and the relationship can thus be maintained. The repayment is also preferably delayed, even inter-generationally, for the same reason (Metge, 2002: 317). The same applies to theft, and indeed both exchange and theft could be seen to be involved in the transactional cycle that Metge describes. Her illustration of how the cycle of positive and negative *utu* functions is particularly helpful in understanding the aspect of 'balance'.

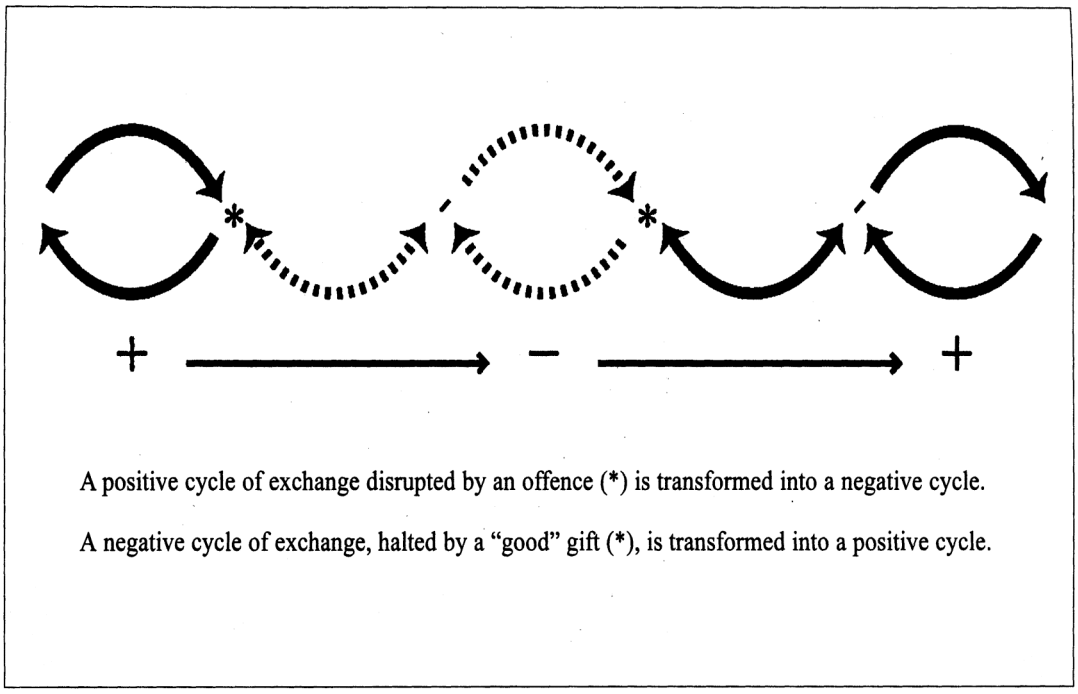

Figure 4: From the exchange of "good" gifts to the exchange of "bad" gifts to the exchange of "good" gifts

(from Metge [2002], in Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol.111, No. 4, p. 333)

Because of the inter-connectedness with *mana*, a thief or any other person deemed to have 'broken the rules' may be taken under the care and *mana* of a chief by declaration, such as happened to the 16 year-old sealer James Caddell when all his boat's crew were killed and eaten. Thus it is not just a matter of simple exchange payment but much more complex and connected with the gods and the *mana* of the chief and the tribe, whose

members may be expected to pay regardless of their implication in the original exchange or not. In this connection, it is suggested that people who had lived in more than one world previously, were more readily able to operate in the Māori world and to cross boundaries between the worlds, as James Caddell and John Kent came to do.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the notion of subalternity as it is expressed in the sailors', whalers' and sealers' journals and in their ways of life compared with naval captains and officers. The idea that subalterns were predisposed by personality type and life experience to crossing inter-cultural boundaries has been suggested. Using some particular cases, I have shown how some interactions and transactions where violence occurred involved danger, fear, theft, ignorance of each 'other's' ideas of ownership, and systems of reciprocity and of the embeddedness of these things (especially for Māori) in cosmology and epistemology. How an understanding of the related ideas of *utu* and *mana* can be applied to illuminate these cases has been explained. Their application to further examples of material transactions that took place, and the people who participated in them in Te Wai Pounamu in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, is detailed in chapters five and six.

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[64] op.cit. chapters two and three.

[65] E.P.Thompson op.cit.

[66] Embodiment of the work ethic referred to by Erik Fromm and Max Weber (in E.P.Thompson, 1978: 391-3)

[67] See www.captaincooksociety.com/ccsu4196.htm Arlidge, A. (2004) "Some Aspects of Cook's Ship's Companies". Georg and Johann Forster describe the men on Cook's *Resolution.*

[68] A number of diaries were written by young midshipmen. For role and naming of midshipmen in Royal Navy see: www.history.navy.mil/library/online.

[69] The sealing/whaling term 'lay' means share of the profit, which was the way their pay was determined. Some had to sue their employers to get it, eg. (Bryant vs Hook agent for Robt Campbell: www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/Bryant).

[70] See folksong.org.nz/davylows/lowstonfyffe.html for Frank Fyffe's 1970 study of this song.

[71] Joan Druett (1991) *Petticoat Whalers*, Auckland. Collins.

[72] Sydney merchant Antoine Hervel.

[73] For example, a letter from Captain Bampton to Lieutenant-GovernorPaterson describes pressure to deliver cargoes on time. See McNab (1908: 198-9).

[74] See incident at Open Bay later this chapter.

[75] See chapter three.

[76] "Mattied" [sic] Mate may mean killed but could mean injured or sick rather than killed.

[77] Able Bodied seaman - refers to a trained/qualified seaman.

[78] John Robson (2008) "Men who sailed with Cook" online @ http://pages.quicksilver.net.nz/jcr/~cookmen, accessed 12/09/08

[79] Published in the Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter of 28th March 1818

[80] *Taka: A Vignette Life of William Tucker* 1784-1817.

[81] The thieves cat had more knots and was more painful - see Historical Maritime Society www.hms.org.uk/nelsonsnavycat.htm

[82] Bayly journal, 27th March, 1772 (ATL fMS-015-016).

[83] See: www.tpk.govt.nz/publications/research_reports),

Figure 7. Hybrid fish hooks- Maori-style fish hooks made of iron such as could be fashioned with nails that had been exchanged. Courtesy Otago Museum

CHAPTER 5

The Cross-cultural Worlds of Things

> The question… becomes not just how human phenomena may be illuminated... but rather how the phenomena in question may themselves offer illumination.
> (Amiria Henare, 2007: 8)

In this thesis the intention has been to use things as interpretive aids regarding behaviours reported in the archives (see Figure 2). This chapter therefore examines the multiple worlds of things surviving from intercultural transactions and reported in the mariners' journals. 'Things' here are human phenomena - "*mea tuku iho*" - handed down from the ancestors, obtained and learned from contemporary 'others' culturally and materially in the 'class' and ethnic senses, whether deliberate or otherwise. Worlds intersect generationally, between 'classes', and interculturally, and in this reading there is no 'first' encounter or contact. Pacific people and their European 'others' have always transacted things with neighbours, as Hau'ofa has said (op cit., chapter 1), and because every interaction is different, it is therefore a 'first'. On the journey, material things, behaviours and problem-solving strategies are made/learned and influence subsequent encounters. As Chapter two states, 'things flow'. They are sometimes misunderstood, and the way humans behave and use objects mediates the interactions. Spontaneous learning and knowledge acquisition take place as part of the manufacture, use and modification of material things. These are discussed in the section that follows.

Taking Nicholas Thomas's terminology (1991: 214), I use the more inclusive word 'transaction' for what economic anthropologists and others usually call 'exchange/ trade/barter' where the focus is on the *doing* of the activity. What others might call 'commodities / gifts/ concepts', I call 'things', because in other times, or situations they may be transacted differently. A gift may become a commodity and vice versa. This next section elaborates on how this viewpoint intersects with others that remain current in anthropological discourse on transaction, gifting, economic transfer and property.

A fluid mosaic of transaction

Since Mauss's (1925) seminal work *The Gift* there appears to be agreement that transactions between individuals and groups are *social* in nature and function, that there is a performative or *active* component to transaction, and that some '*thing*' is transacted. Amariglio says that transactions may "solidify or dissolve" social ties (2002: 273).

Thomas says that they "reflect and constitute" ties, but it is significant that the social performative aspects are as important as the "nature of the object" (1991: 7). Thomas's term 'transaction' seems most appropriate, because while it is tempting to categorise actions and items that comprise human sociality, following Appadurai, "[i]t does not make sense to distinguish [commodity exchange] sharply either from barter on the one hand or from the exchange of gifts on the other" (1986: 12). Collapsing the categories is more meaningful, because objects and their associated behaviours may change status according to context and at different stages in their social lives (ibid: 12-4)[84]. Similarly Annette Weiner said that the traditional model "ignores factors that are significant in understanding the dynamics" of objects with dense value which may become "inalienable" (not tradeable) and may circulate very slowly if at all. They thus "stand outside the reciprocity model" in contrast with less valuable objects such as "ordinary" *kula* shells that circulate more freely (1994: 392-4).

Thomas describes objects being 'entangled' with each other and with other social systems. They may be perceived as a gift in one system and a commodity in another (1991: 4), and it is inappropriate to theorise everything social as reciprocity (Mirowski, cited in Amariglio, 2002: 267). It is therefore better not to place gifting, barter, or trade on a continuum or associate them with social evolutionary concepts as Malinowski (1922) and Sahlins (1965) did, but to flatten the perspective, making them co-dependent and equal, so 'things' and associated behaviours can move fluidly from one status to the other according to context and time. The 'fluid mosaic' model has been borrowed from cell biology where it describes the nature and functioning of the cell membrane, a boundary across which things move fluidly from one environment to another with the aid of the boundary. Social transactions seem similar to this - being equal but different from each other, each type operating in a particular context, social and physical environment and across a boundary.

While wanting to portray transaction as '*action between',* I suggest that this can happen during public/personal 'events' or ceremonies, as well as informally, and not always reciprocally or by agreement from both parties. The 'other' may not even be aware that it is happening whilst they are being observed, yet knowledge or skills may be being acquired. This kind of transaction where one party is unaware, could apply in the extreme case of theft or 'negative reciprocity' previously mentioned (Sahlins, 1965: 147-8) or as described in the next section by living together/adjacent to one another as in a shore encampment for example. This perspective is useful for thinking with, but does not

negate the usefulness of the usual categories of economic anthropology - gifting, barter and trade, commodity exchange or, as Cook said, "traffick", that have precision in particular contexts and situations, but can tend to interrupt the social flow by chopping up what is essentially a fluid process as discussed in chapter two.

Emphasising the aspect of action should not ignore the emergent aspects described by 'gifting theorists', which apply to commodity transactions with formal/ceremonial aspects. Smart says, "[g]ift exchanges are 'contingent performances' that form a social theatre where shifting relationships are dramatised, created and dissolved" (1993: 405), and where honour and religious sanctions are publicly distributed (Mauss, 1990: 5; Mary Douglas: 1975: xiv). Thomas describes "transactions [where] wider relations are expressed and negotiated personally on behalf of others" (1991: 7), and Fennell says that in the "dialogic aspect of gift-giving and receiving… the selves interacting in such transactions are also reconfigured through them" (2002: 93). Additionally, Smart (cited in Osteen 2002: 24) and Gudeman (2001: 467) emphasise that *uncertainty, spontaneity and risk-taking* are important components of transactions also. They are particularly relevant to the construction and expression of identity and the ability to negotiate and extend boundaries [85] that are described here and in chapter six.

Then there are 'transacted things' - that might otherwise be entitled 'commodities', 'gifts', 'materials exchanged', 'objects' etc. In my reading land, concepts, books, plants and animals, technologies, techniques and skills are also 'things', and can be transacted. When this occurs they frequently pass between social worlds, for example from the natural to the economic world; from the world of the gods to the world of humans, and in this account, from the Māori world to the European world. In a sense, for Polynesians obtaining and cooking root crops, their cooking and consumption by humans is a transaction with the gods from whom they came (Sahlins, 1985: 113). Each world has different value judgements. These often conflict, so establishing agreement about the value of things, ideas and behaviours becomes problematical, particularly when the same physical object is seen or interpreted differently in different situations or worlds, and thus its value varies (Appadurai, 1986: 15; cf. Boltanski & Thevenot, 1999: 369-71). Mirowski says that goods have no *intrinsic* value, and that value is "constructed and symbolically attached to goods" (cited in Callari, 2002: 258-9, my emphasis). On the other hand, Annette Weiner ascribes absolute value to 'inalienable' possessions such as 'heirloom' fine mats that are so densely valuable that they cannot be sold (1994: 394).

Firth (1959 [1927]), categorises all exchange objects as gifts whose purpose may be either economic (to obtain something useful /practical) or ceremonial (not primarily economic but fulfilling some other social purpose). In contrast with some previous writers such as Blucher, he did not see Māori as being savages with no '*conceptions of value'*, nor did he suggest that we should judge this matter according to our own conceptions of value. One cloak may be invested with less sentiment or religious value than another, though similar in appearance, and be 'valued' accordingly (ibid: 393-5). Koptyoff has shown that Firth's argument no longer holds, because his 'gifts' are not *always* economic or *always* ceremonial but can change category with the situation (cited in Osteen, 2002: 230) - and between systems from Māori ceremonial gift to European trade for example (Thomas, 1991: 4), or they may become inalienable (Weiner, 1993).

Having collapsed the various categories of 'things', based on the notion of their 'value' and how they are used, I want to consider what they *do*, and what they can tell us. This way of looking is not new. It was raised by Mauss, and requires us to disentangle 'things' from Cartesian dualism, to look at them afresh from the "native's point of view", and to acknowledge that for Māori (and some others) they may have an agency of their own. Mauss's analysis of Ranapiri's text about the *hau* or 'spirit of the gift' being passed to the recipient via the gift, acknowledges that in 'primitive' societies "aspects of personhood [can be] identified with… things [gifts]" (Henare et al. 2007: 16). His interpretation of their agency via the *hau* of the giver thus suggests that this agency originates in the original forest, soil and person, his/her intention, and their relationship with the recipient. Mauss used his understanding of the Māori text to justify reciprocity in 'primitive' societies and to show that there was no such thing as a free gift. The *hau* tried to return to the soil from which it had sprung, so the gift had to be repaid to enable this.

As Firth showed in 1929, this is only one way of interpreting Ranapiri's letter to Best, because when he said: "*No te mea he hau no te taonga tena, tena taonga na*" (Because the hau of the taonga, is the hau of that taonga there), "one gift is simply regarded as the essence of the other", and there was no mention of the *hau* of the giver. Firth claimed that the real driving force of reciprocity was social sanctions (1929 [1959: 420-21]). He denied any spiritual component in the transaction. I return here to Metge's criticism of Firth, which is affirmed by Tapsell (1997: 359)[86]. Metge claims, based on her long experience of Māori reciprocity, that *utu* is entangled with metaphysical matters, which Firth and others have ignored (op.cit. chapter 4).

Following Henare (2007) and Strathern (1990) I see 'things' as capable of being used heuristically by anthropologists because that is how they operate in the worlds of some of our 'others', including Māori (Henare 2007: 16-19). In contrast with Godelier's view that "a gift object does not move without reason [or]…of its own accord [and is] always set in motion buy human will" (1999: 102-5), I take the view that Māori people (and others who choose to) may live, sometimes simultaneously, in 'real' worlds, imaginary worlds, and alternative cultural worlds. Henare has said "these 'different worlds' are not [necessarily] to be found in some forgotten corner of our own… [and] alterity can quite properly be thought of as a property of things - things, that is which *are concepts* as much as they appear to us as 'material' or physical entities" (2007: 10-13). Sometimes Maori people may not distinguish between these worlds whilst living their lives. What is true for them is true for them, and if in certain circumstances they *perceive* that 'things' can be set in motion of their own accord, then the social effect will be the same, whether this is *real* to a Westerner or not. As Thomas said " Things are what they have become" (1991: 4). They are invested with meaning from the layers they have acquired in the course of their lives. In some peoples' worlds they actually have become what they once symbolised. If a Granadan woman actually 'sees' the statue of Santa Aña crying, then that is what she experiences and it is real to her. I have accordingly stated before that the agency of the 'thing' may include the agency of the giver and vice versa, but in the Māori world a 'thing' may also be considered to have a separate agentive force of its own. Tapsell describes how a cloak for example, is made by a female artist who is seen as "fulfilling the creativity of the *atua* (god)". She then gives it to the kin-group "under whose *mana* it is controlled". It becomes imbued with the *mana* and *tapu* of those who have worn it. It may "eventually become [a] physical representation of the collective identity" (p.263) and may even be *seen as* the ancestor[87] (Tapsell, 1997: 362; Tcherkézoff, 2002: 28; Wilkes, 2006: 35; Henare 2007: 47-8). To Māori, 'things' *in some situations* may be actors in transactions as much as their human counterparts are, and one of the properties of things is that they may also be concepts "as much as they appear to us as 'material' or 'physical' entities" (Henare: 13). In this interpretation they contain the concept (often more than one concept), and they usually act together with people. What remains is to show how this might be understood theoretically.

The approaches of Marilyn Strathern and Amiria Henare provide some theoretical insights. Referring to the Mt Hagen people of Papua-New Guinea, Strathern famously remarked that "women are like tradestores", because a woman is both a "repository of

nurture *from* her kin" and ‘‘repository of nurture *due* to her kin *in return"* and she thus benefits the *relationship* between her relatives. In some ways she has the properties if a ‘thing’/commodity and the exercise of power is dependent on who is able to control the flow of this wealth (1996: 517-9, my emphasis). Viewing humans as ‘things’ or commodities could also be seen as applying in some situations to Māori. One could say that people can be ‘things’ and things can be like ‘people’ in the Māori world, and the circumstances for this are situational. Henare (2007: 47) writes:

> A taonga might equally be a historic whalebone weapon, the Māori language, a native plant, a body of knowledge; distinctions between the material and the ephemeral are not relevant here. Nor are ideas about animate versus inanimate entities; women and children may be exchanged as taonga, and taonga such as woven cloaks are often held as ancestors or instantiations of ancestral effect

Strathern acknowledges Latour’s project of describing actor-networks where human/nonhuman hybrids act, but says that she wants to "extend them with social imagination", using them to think about Coppet’s ‘Are’are (Solomon Island) people who are both ‘dividuals’, i.e. ‘divided’ persons and ‘hybrids’. At death they become separated into three different elements - the body, produced by nurture (eaten as taro), breath (taken away in slaughtered pigs), and image (which becomes an ancestor who endures). "A human being is… conceived of as an aggregation of relations". Non-human substitutes exist for each of these forms - taro for body, pigs for body & breath, and shell beads for ancestral image. Events are marked with the exchange of shell beads, which "builds up a person as a composite of past transactions with diverse others", and when death occurs there is one last series of exchanges which stops the flow. Thus ‘Are‘are social relations are condensed into things as well as people, and things have some of the properties of people, who are equated in some of their properties with taro and pigs (p. 525-7). That ‘things’ in the Māori world may have identity and agentive force in the formation of social relationships thus seems to be possible, considering the parallels in Polynesia. This will be further discussed at the end of this chapter where the concept is used in relation to *taonga* (precious items).

Gifts and ‘other things’

In accordance with Strathern’s notion of partible persons this thesis takes the view that both persons and things are partible. It sees what Westerners call "property" as actually an idea and a "basis of expectation" (Bentham, quoted in Verdury and Humphrey: 2004: 1) concerning relationships that may be vested in persons or things, aspects of either, or combinations of both. Parts or selves may combine situationally in certain times, places

and events to either connect or disconnect the relationship-ideas they represent. These ideas are called property, and people-people or people-things then come to embody them. Boltanski and Thévenot use the term 'worth' in the sense of rightness and ethical judgement. I have extended their concepts of 'worlds' and 'worth' to include also the notion economists call value equivalence. I then use them to debate the issue of value and worth being relative depending upon which world the embodied relationship-idea occupies situationally at the time. Both are relevant to the Māori-European transactional relationships described in the section that follows.

Here mariners' journals are used for evidence of situations where transactions could have been influenced by differences in worth that Māori or Europeans have attributed to the same physical object. Cook, Parkinson, Marra, Kent and Boultbee seem by their reports to have regarded the transfer of 'material' things between themselves, their colleagues and Māori chiefs and commoners, as trade/traffic or barter in the contemporary European sense:

> … the natives came on board & trafficked; having brought some parcels of Oomara… exchanged them for Otaheite cloth which is… fairly scarce… They were very cunning in their traffick
> (Cook, 22 Oct., 1769)

Firth (1959) gives good reasons why this should not be considered to be barter or trade. Both these "impl[y] some agreement as to the rates of exchange, a practice quite foreign to the Māori mode of conducting matters… Such would not be *tika* (correct)… " (pp. 409-10). Cook and his crew did, however, also refer to the giving and exchange of 'presents':

> … The Captn, having only a few necklaces in his pocket… placed on about each of the women's necks… they were pleased & departed, offering in exchange the weapons they held… which the Captn politely refused
> (Marra, 6th April, 1773)

The question thus arises of how Māori *did* regard these intercultural transactions, for transaction was not a new phenomenon to them. Intercultural exchanges were legendary, and intertribal transactions were a common if infrequent occurrence, for which more or less elaborate protocols had been developed (A.Anderson, 1998: 126-8; Tikao, 1990 [1939]: 130; Bathgate, 1969: 260). The practices of these protocols and associated rituals were mediated by people, usually experts, and by the things themselves, which provide a window through which we might view and interpret their meanings.

One could view transacted 'things' as moving in and out of the economic world and other social worlds, where they may be subjected to different judgements of worth. In this context, the issue is complicated further by their inhabiting the cultural worlds of

European and Māori. Furthermore, as Appadurai also says, in intercultural exchanges, even where there are some shared understandings, exchanges can be "based on deeply divergent perceptions of the value of objects being exchanged" (1986: 14), and further complications arise because of divergent perceptions of which 'worlds' the exchanges are operating in. The issue is that the 'things' and the people are shown to have agentive capacities to act as polyvocal mediators, which can temporarily stabilise the intercultural space between these worlds in the manner described by Boltanski and Thevenot (cited in Dodier, 1993: 563).

Amongst the broad literature on gift giving, gifts are primarily a particular category of relationship-things or people whose exchange has the role of social reciprocity broadly following that described by Metge (2002: 317) as one feature of "positive utu"- to " give more than an equivalent [and] thus produce a continuing state of *im*-balance in relations between the individuals and groups concerned, a see-sawing of obligation… from one to the other which may last for many years… This imbalance keeps the relationship going…". However the things and behaviour described here go beyond these definitions of gift. Some could be considered as economic exchanges, and some as theft, but some have been taken up by mutual diffusion, being not involved in any eventful occasion or ceremony, but obtained or transmitted through observation and imitation. They are nevertheless transactional phenomena that tell their own story (Henare, 2007), and some will be accounted for in the section that follows.

A Contested Domain

Reports of the early transactions tell us what participants *did* and which *things* they made and used in the interactions. Amongst them were *things* that everyone needed for survival - food (fish, birds, and latterly, potatoes, seals, whales), water, wood and flax products. European reports give scant evidence that these items, especially fish and latterly seals and whales occupied a contestable ownership domain. It is as if beyond the charted seas of Europe and America, the resources of the 'wild' sea and lands were a common right for all, with little indication that the 'natives' should be consulted before the Europeans 'helped themselves' to them. In the European sense, they only seem to have become property when they were *caught* and transacted by Māori. There is even less indication that these resources may be invested by the 'natives' with different meanings or properties than they had for Europeans, or were the property of the gods perhaps, with whom the transaction also involved forming a relationship. If challenged whilst 'helping

themselves' to water, fish, or other resources of the land, this was seen to be 'unfair' and cause for a show of strength/discipline by demonstrating the force of European firearms. The people attacking were often described as 'savages' or 'cannibals':

> Several of the Natives Visited us this morning and brought with them some stinking fish which I… ordered to be brought up in order to encourage… but trade at this time seemed not to be their object… [they] were more inclined to quarrel & as the ship was on the careen I thought they might give us some trouble; for this reason I fire'd some small shott at one of the first offenders [in the knee], this made them keep at a proper distance [sic]
> (Cook, Totaranui, 16/01/1770)

> Captain Cook took every precaution while we were among these dangerous cannibals, but nevertheless we were surprised one night in the two tents which we had erected on shore by about twentyfive or thirty natives; but when they perceived that we were on the watch and saw us seize our weapons, they took to flight, taking with them no further plunder than an iron spoon for boiling oil.
> (Zimmerman, 1781; 14-15)

Even in 1820 when surgeon Nikolay Galkin visited with the Russian expedition, fear of savages was an important aspect of their thinking:

> Towards night fall, fires appeared at various places on the shore, reminding us of the brutal inhabitants of the country… Perhaps, (we thought), they are even now roasting creatures like themselves on those fires in order to devour them later
> (in Barratt, 1979: 63)

The assumption that Māori were savages/cannibals, liable to unpredictable behaviour, must have caused constant anxiety and contributed unnecessarily to violent episodes where Europeans like Rowe became 'trigger happy', displayed their power, and felt righteously justified because of being surprised. Yet Europeans did not appear to see that the motivation might be competition for resources. Atholl Anderson said that de Blosseville's translation of Edwardson (1823) reports seals being 'gathered in the south during the summer and preserved [in kelp bags] for winter use', and one skirmish at Preservation Inlet between Māori and sealers was "essentially competition over local sealing rights" (in Habib, 1989: 193-7)[88]. For Māori sealing rights were therefore a kind of property right in which they had a relationship with the gods that constituted the "basis of expectation" (Bentham, cited in Verdury and Humphrey, 2004: 1) that was being challenged by the Europeans. Hindsight and reflexivity are wonderful things. Not all interactions were violent, and it was a matter of ignorance of facts - that Māori (being in European eyes, 'savage') had a tradition of proprietary ownership of food resources; of *utu* and Māori cosmology not understood by Europeans, and of European ownership and exchange rules not understood by Māori.

The previous chapter showed that sometimes the Māoris' fish resource was under pressure from European fishing, exchange and inter-tribal warfare. When *Endeavour*

visited Queen Charlotte Sound in 1770 Cook observed them drying fish to preserve for winter stock, as did Mikhaylov in 1820 (in Barratt, 1979: 88). On this visit Cook and Banks noted that Māori had told them that their food supplies were under pressure. This goes some way to explaining the troubled relationships just mentioned (cf. Barratt. op.cit). On February 3rd 1770, Cook and Banks both noted:

> Went over to the Hippah… & purchased of the Inhabitants a quantity of split and half-dried fish & such as I could get…abt noon we took our leave which some seem'd not sorry for, for notwithstanding they sold us their fish very freely, there were some amongst them who showed evident disapprobation
> (Cook, journal)
> ...Dr went with the captain to the farther Hippah who wanted to buy dried fish for sea stock, & did buy so much that at last the Old men fairly told him he must go away or he would leave them without provisions, which they enforced by some threats… they parted peaceably.
> (Banks, journal)

That the fish resource was seasonally variable should have been obvious because Europeans sometimes stayed several months for ship maintenance, and their own fishing parties had variable success. For example at the end of May 1773, Lieutenant Palliser noted at Queen Charlotte Sound:

> ... Ship's company put on 2/3d Allowances on account of the scarcity of fish.
> (23/05/1773)

Whereas in early April 1773, astronomer Bayly recorded:

> … they came alongside with great quantities of fish which they was desirous of giving us & often would receive nothing for them.
> (9/04/1773)

This situation was quite in contrast to Dusky Sound, which they had just left. Midshipman Willis reported in March an ample supply of fish there, but subsequently no success at Queen Charlotte in May:

> … sent away a boat fishing with hooks and lines… she soon returned with great plenty of fish which we issued out to the ship's company
> (27/3/1773)
>
> … the boats away again fishing but returned with very little success.
> (21/5/1773)

Unless such difficulties occurred, details of 'fishing', 'watering' and 'wooding', along with 'ship work' and other activities of ship's tradesmen and seamen are hardly mentioned save in their *own* and their mess-mates journals (see Figure 6). Yet these men and the equipment they used/made, 'kept the ship alive'. They spliced the ropes, painted and repaired the hull, cut new spars, baked bread, made fishhooks, sewed boat cloaks, dug holes, felled trees, erected tents, cared for horses, etc. etc. - yet it is necessary to read the diaries of officers 'against the grain' to see they existed at all.

Exchanging knowledge by being there

The multitude of activities around New Zealand shores during these early visits, even when stopovers were for a few days, were not restricted to interactions between ship's captains, officers and Māori chiefs, the shooting parties of officers and gentlemen, or the specimen-gathering expeditions of the 'scientific gentlemen' such as Banks and the Forsters:

> … the officers went away in the small cutter for the diversion of shooting - fishing etc.
> (Clerke, captain, 28/3/1773)

> Capt & Mr Forster with officers out surveying & in search of plants herbs etc
> (Gilbert, master, 6/4/1773)

From the junior crew's reports, it is as if the shooting parties and 'Discoveries', were the preserve of 'nobles' as Lescarbot describes them (op.cit. Chapter three):

> … small Cutter was sent with *proper officers* up ye bay on Discovery & of any appearance of Natives
> (Harvey, midshipman, 28/03/1773- my emphasis)

However, most of the approximately ninety men on each of Cook's ships were engaged in ship maintenance, ashore carrying out their trades, or in harbour, fishing. Careful reading reveals the shore camps as hives of activity. Some men rowed the captain and officers about and were prepared to defend them. Officers and 'men' reported how they were being watched personally in their behaviour, and in doing their daily tasks - mainly by ordinary indigenous men, women and children behaving like other young people - with curiosity, opportunism, sometimes without restraint. This observation was mutual. It could be called risk-taking and agentive in the way that Smart and Osteen have described (in Osteen, 2002: 20)[89]. James Burney, son of musicologist Charles Burney subsequently became a writer. He made detailed notes of some interactions with Māori at Queen Charlotte Sound:

> Thursday 13th [Feb.1776] The tents of both ships were erected at the Watering Place and the Coopers, Waterers and Sailmakers… with plenty of Marines frome [sic] each ship sent to remain on Shore under the direction of Lieut. King of the Resolution - the Astronomers Tents were likewise pitched at the Watering Place and the whole made a formidable appearance. Next day the Horses were got on shore. *A great many Indians from different parts of the sound have taken up their abode* in Ship Cove - Fish plenty - Employed Wooding, Watering, Brewing Spruce Beer, Boiling down the blubber got at Keguelan's land, Haymaking, repairing rigging, Sails etc. etc. The gardens made here last voyage were… over run… A few cabbages were found and some onion seed…The potatoe Garden… was not looked after. Sunday16th. At Daybreak the 2 Captains with a large party went up the Sound to cut grass and at night returned with two launch loads… Monday 24th. Weighed and ran out of Ship Cove into the outer part of the Sound. The New Zealanders were *never so much amongst us as at this time*. The reason probably because they found more was to be got and on easier terms than ever before - for our folks were all eager for curiosities and with *all so much better provided than any former Voyage* that Traffick was greatly altered in favour of the Indians… they often appeared to have a great Friendship for us, speaking sometimes in the most tender compassionate tone of Voice... but… disgusted one to find all this show of fondness interested and that it constantly ended in begging… their expectations and importunities increasing in proportion as they had been indulged… it seemed evident that many of them held us in great contempt… getting from us so many valuable things for which they gave the credit solely to their superior cunning
> (Burney, ATL.Adm.51/4523/2, my emphasis)

Burney, records the men on this trip having things available for exchange, but not what these were, nor what (if anything) was received in exchange. What they *gave* most likely included hooks and fishing lines that were issued to all the ship's company by Thomas Edgar on August 9th 1777 (ATL. Micro-MS - 37528:9)[90]. It also included nails and items of old clothing (Forster, journal, 2/6/1773). Cook's manifest items on the third voyage "to be distributed to them as presents towards obtaining their friendship &c" contains 26 varieties, of which 65%(excepting the lead 'shott') are iron, 15% cloth and 8% glass as beads, buttons & mirrors. The metal items are tools and utensils, the cloth consists of clothes, sheets and fabric (Cook to Stephens 6/3/1776, in McNab, 1914, Vol 2: 125). It can probably be assumed that the 'men' had access to these, because they were every-day items. As subalterns they had some agency and choice in the matter.

Aside from fish, seamen and supernumeraries did *receive* some ordinary items, some of which ultimately ended in the collections of more prestigious persons like Banks. For example William Anderson left his 'natural curiosities' to Banks in his will[91]. These items are not therefore traceable to their original European recipients except in a few cases such as Surgeon Patten who, in his will, left his collection of New Zealand and Pacific items to Trinity College Dublin[92]. Some have 'returned home', for example, to Okain's Bay Museum, which contains a few hybrid fishing hooks which have been recovered from England and still possess the flax line and snoods - evidence of the early use of iron by Māori in manufacturing iron hooks after the Māori style. The Simonov collection from Bellingshausen's expedition contains "composite hooks made of wood and bone, well

bound together with vegetable twine… used for shark fishing", which Barratt likens to items in the Auckland and Taranaki museums, and the Peabody Museum, Salem (Barratt, 1979: 80). The latter is likely to have been one of the few brought home by a whaler. Rhys and Margaret Griffiths "have concluded that the thousands and thousands of crewmen who visited the Pacific on whaleships in the 19th century, did not bring home very much." They suggest that most seamen were "rolling stones who gathered no moss and no curiosities either", but what they brought home were "intangible things like *new concepts, new ideas and new ways of thinking*…" (R. & M. Richards, 2000: 4,10, my emphasis).

However, in exchange for fish, the Māori *preferred* iron - an element analogous in its properties to greenstone, and more versatile:

> This people are poor when compared to many… the little traffick was wholly for fish… we saw little else they had to dispose of… [they] seemed to have some knowledge of iron for they readily took nails in exchange for fish & sometimes preferred them to anything else [sic]
> (Cook, 9/2/1770)

Some nails were subsequently reworked into hybrid fishhooks and lures, chisels and other tools, which became possible because Māori quickly learned metal crafting technologies. Watching the armourer working at his forge ashore would have been a start.

The dressed flax given reminds us that women were present too. They assisted in harvesting and preparing flax for rope and fishing lines, they were expert weavers and made all the clothes and woven materials exchanged, particularly in the times of Cook, Bellingshausen and d'Urville. Edwardson reported women's efficiency in dressing flax, comparing their work most favourably with the poor showing of a scutching mill that they had brought to Stewart Island to set up an industry there (de Blosseville in McNab, 1907: 203)[93]. This resulted in Caddell's wife Tokitoki and another woman being taken to Sydney to "instruct… convicts as flax dressers" (Ross, 1975, ATL. MS-papers-1500: 61-3). It also highlights the issue of *skills* as well as '*things*' being desired by Māori *and* Europeans. Captain John Kent, formerly Boultbee's captain, now in the *Mermaid*, advised the NSW government that it would be more economical for them to import already dressed flax from New Zealand (ibid: 73). Exchange of knowledge and skills was thus conscious on the part of Europeans and Māori. It accompanied material exchange and sometimes was a consequence of 'being there'.

Theft or *Utu*?

Contingent behaviour by Māori and Europeans resulted in some 'thefts' and some friendships being formed. Both were viewed as misdemeanours by the captains. Burney's interpretation of "Māori self-image", as "their superior cunning"(op.cit.) exposes what European's perceived as theft and Māori sometimes saw as something else. The Polynesian sense of humour resembles a kind of teasing or competitive game, exemplifying the personality attributes admired by Māori and possessed by the ancestor Maui: "quick, intelligent, cunning, bold, resourceful and fearless" (R. Walker op cit: 51; cf. Dening, 1966: 40[94]). Patterson reveals this "theme in… traditional narratives… of trickery and deceit..." which is justified to achieve *mana*. Just as *utu* (in either form) increases *mana*, so, in some circumstances can trickery and deceit, so they are all tied up in the same epistemological scheme, seeking approval from each other and from the gods to increase *mana* (1992: 165-6)[95]. This highlights the spontaneous contingent risk-taking behaviour of Māori actors and may be connected with *utu,* and the intention to '*whaimana*' (seek *mana*). It was appropriate to their traditional lifestyle, but not to European law, and is illustrated in the Mitchells' account of the second visit of H.M.S. *Resolution* to Totaranui:

> The following day Cook complained of having been visited by a group of Māori who were skilled at sleight-of-hand and picking pockets. The chief joined Cook in berating the miscreants, but then proceeded to do the same thing himself and laughed it off when reprimanded by Cook.
> (2007: 161)

> They began to pilfer and steal everything they saw. A four hour glass & lamp were stolen, but the thieves were soon discovered & turned out of the ship.
> (J. R. Forster, 30/05/1773)

This type of behaviour was not completely unknown in the European world, especially amongst subalterns. Scott has described it as a form of resistance or "weapon of the weak" (in Burke, 2005: 89-93)[96]. Joseph Banks, naturalist, did however show some ethnographic insight into this issue:

> … They are not like the islanders addicted to stealing, but would sometimes before peace was concluded, if they could by offering any thing they had to sale entice us to trust something of ours into their hands, refuse to return it with all the coolness in the world, seeming to look upon it as plunder of the enemy.
> (in Beaglehole (ed.), Banks journal, 1768-71: 11-12)

However, most Europeans, operating from a different value system, did not see this opportunistic behaviour in the same way as the following account shows. They punished their own people publicly to show how fair they were in their disapprobation of stealing and 'dishonesty':

> During our stay several of our people… sent to make brooms… robbed the hut of a native of several tools, and forced upon him some nails… the offenders were punished
> (G.Forster 2/11/1774)

> These savages had with them 7 or 8 young red painted blue-lipped cannibal ladies… The gunner's mate was here punished with 12 lashes for going ashore in pursuit of those beauties.
> (Marra, 19/10/1774)

> Punished John Marra Gunner's mate 1dozen for insolent behaviour & secreting himself in an Indian canoe in order to leave the ship last night
> (Cooper, 03/11/1774)

Gunner's mate Marra's justification of *his* behaviour, by referring to himself in the third person, is revealing of his own attitude, in view of his reference to 'cannibal ladies'. That Marra wished to go ashore amongst Māori, showed also that he was exhibiting similar tendencies to Māori, being willing to take risks that he thought were 'worth it'. This is not something that officers did, but as is discussed further in chapter six, such tendencies and behaviour, risking the crossing of boundaries between worlds, actually enhanced the overall success of the expedition, in the same way as sealer Boultbee's was to do fifty years later. Ordinary seamen were more prone to this, than officers or captains were.

As the previous chapter emphasises, some material and intellectual transactions also resulted in violence and death, because of European's misunderstanding of *mana, utu*, and Māori concepts of ownership, and also because of fear and uncertainty resulting in rash, risk taking behaviour. However, the ordinary daily tasks of ordinary Māori and European sailors and tradesmen - ashore and on board ship, provided both technical and behavioural learning opportunities for ship people and Māori alike. These would have changed the way that each saw the world and performed their roles in it. The role of the things they used - fishhooks, fishing nets, nails, ropes, boats, paddles/oars, axes, saws, containers like water casks, guns and other weapons - would have facilitated this learning procedure because of the similarity of their properties and functions to indigenous tools and weapons:

> 30 or 40 natives… were no sooner on board than they asked for nails; but when nails were given them they asked Tupaia what they were… plain that they had never seen them before… they call [them] Whow, the name of a tool which they used as a chisel.
> (Cook, Totaranui, 9/02/1770)

> They grow some potatoes, which with their mats they exchange, preferring iron or edged tools, none of which they ever had in their possession. Those on the sea coast live chiefly upon fish
> (Robt. Murray, sealer, Murihiku Aug 1810, in Richards, 1995b: 23)

> When we had been living some weeks at Ruaboka [Ruapuke island] a boat arrived from the Eastward. She had been to Otargo [sic] for a supply of pork and potatoes; they purchased 2 large fat hogs for 2 muskets; and 100 baskets of potatoes each weighing 35lbs, for an [iron] adze.
> (John Boultbee, sealer, c. Sept 1827 in Starke: 81)

When Bellingshausen visted Totaranui in 1820, iron was still the number one preference for Māori:

> The New Zealand elder was highly pleased with the presents, but he wanted something else, and earnestly explained that he needed 'Fau'; but we did not understand him on this occasion
> (Simonov, astronomer, in Barratt, 1979: 48)

> But nails delighted them, and each individual was incessantly offering, for them, shells, fishing tackle, basalt adzes, etc. For a large nail they gave their best - but so well did they know the value of everything that they forced us to be extremely cautious in their trading… (Galkin, ibid: 66)

Europeans after Cook had by then included some Māori words in their vocabularies, referring to Cook's account to establish for example that "*ika"* meant fish. This enhanced their success, and Māori's "gestures were expressive of some satisfaction"(ibid.) Māori also were learning, easily perceived the possibilities of *modifying* iron products, and were quick to do so, as Bellingshausen noted[97]:

> Early in the morning, Midshipman Adams was sent in the cutter to search for barrels that had been thrown out of the boat [the previous day, in a high wind by Lt. Leskov]. He found nine of them. Some were broken and the [iron] hoops had been taken by the natives but on our demanding these they were returned without protest.
> (4/6/1820, quoted in Barratt, 1979:39)

There is thus evidence in the journals of the efficacy of learning and of planned and spontaneous agentive behaviour by both parties to the encounters.

By the readiness with which Māori parted with ordinary items it seems likely that at the time they probably had no other dense value than their function:

> Canoes came off & sold us a few fish & some of their fishing hooks made upon a piece of wood.
> (Banks, 11/02/1770)

> The natives have been fishin [sic] all the beforenoon in the rain, & brought Congers, & large Breams to sell. They are very fond of our large Fish- hooks…
> (J.R.Forster, 28/10/1771)

> … early in the morning, unmoored and rode by a single anchor… natives immediately repaired to the beach… finding… a heap of bread dust… consumed it all… They had another motive for visiting the place… to pick up any trifles… nails, rags &c which we might have left behind… some others offered a great quantity of their tools and weapons to sell.. Our gentlemen purchased a quantity of their prepared hemp or flax, and many fish-hooks, armed with bone… taken from the human arm…
> (G.Forster, 24/11/1773)

For Europeans and Māori these ordinary items represented an investment of time and materials by community members. They cannot be separated from their performative sociality and the transformations and associations they had undergone from raw materials into used and repaired items, modified for catching fish, transporting people and

sustaining families, including in the context of exchange. These objects expose to our view the community of people and other things with whom they were associated. Take for example the making of Māori fishing nets and lines. Anderson reports 'kupeka' nets "were generally small but some were up to eight chains long (c. 160 m.) and were deployed at river mouths by canoe or *mokihi* (flax raft) (1998: 133). It took a large group of people to make one from undressed flax. Johnson and Howarth say the "making was subject to strict tapu", fires must not be lit, food prepared in the vicinity, or until after the first hauling, lest it be ineffective. The first fish must be sacrificed, offered to the gods and then, after cooking, to persons of rank (2004: 13). Fish could then be dried as is still done with eels at Wairewa[98] (A. Anderson, 1998: 140), as Bellingshausen observed at Queen Charlotte Sound (cited in Trotter, 1987: 118). Both women and men could participate in any of these activities - the fishing itself, weaving flax baskets for storage, dressing flax for finer nets and lines, and drying and storing the catch:

> When speaking of the dexterity of the fishermen, I should have mentioned that of the fisherwomen also; for the women here are as expert at all the useful arts as the men, sharing equally the fatigue and the danger with them upon all occasions
> (Savage, 1810: 64-5)

> Sometimes they will load a canoe in two hours with fish. The women are kept busily employed at this season, drying the Baracoota which are cut open and hung on racks made for the purpose. When the first canoe arrives, no-one but the men belonging to her are allowed to approach near…she is tabooed till her first load of fish are landed…
> (Boultbee, c. Sept. 1828, in Starke: 75-6)

Thus the whole procedure of fishing may involve at some stage or other persons of any rank, position or gender. In the context of communities observing each other's behaviour, the way that objects like nets and lines were used, thus exposes also the different understandings that each group had of the 'other's' attitude towards food and its consumption, for example.

Museums and private collections here, and in England, house some of these actual nets, lines and hooks. They inhabit collections made by sailors, ship's officers and Māori, but although they are the same objects *materially*, they are not the same 'things' because they now inhabit different worlds in which they have entirely different meanings and functions than the ones in which they formerly lived. However the essential aspect of the material transactions is the technical and behavioural learning that took place - in many cases without any actual tools or weapons changing hands at all[99]. It is certain that they and their manufacture, maintenance and repair were observed, copied and adapted, as the objects illustrated at the beginning of this chapter show(Figure 7).

Fish, Consumption, Tapu and 'balance'

In the context of communities observing each other's actions and behaviour, *how* transacted items were used, exposes how each group comprehended the 'other's' attitude towards them. Both Māori and Europeans see a need for 'balance' in exchange. It requires appreciation of the 'worth' of the object, person, activity or labour being transacted. Difficulties arise, because judgements of worth, even within the 'world of ordinary things like food', operate also in different cultural worlds, where the value of the same physical item is not equivalent. Although it is the 'same physical thing', when it moves between worlds it may become a different 'thing' in terms of how it is understood. More commonality of understanding between worlds exists for ordinary things than for prestige and ceremonial items, and this is also dependent on context as I now show.

Chapter four showed how in Māori understanding of transactions, *utu* constantly redresses imbalances, which it maintains on the other hand to perpetuate social connections (Metge, 2002: 311-338)[100]. This aspect of *things* constitutes one thread throughout the rest of this dissertation. Fish and food consumption is addressed, because in relation to them the journals show some differing understandings about the nature of food and its relationship with *tapu*. Returning to the metaphor of overlapping worlds, the intersection of Māori and European worlds was more easily negotiated by participants when fish was a referent easily understood by both parties as food. However, like all successful referents it was polyvocal and at some levels had different meaning for different parties. Methods of catching, processing and consumption had some overlap also, and ordinary European sailors therefore had no difficulty in comprehending activities in the intercultural 'in-between space of fish'. This was not, however, the same for officers, as the subaltern Marra (the only one to report the details), wrote at Dusky Bay:

> … Captn and Mr Forster, took a tour up country… visited the old man & his family… welcomed in [an unexpected manner]… all appeared in clean dresses, a fire was made… [they] began dressing fish, entreating [them] to stay and eat; *the fish they intended for the strangers was differently dressed from [theirs]*... made a bag of broad seaweed, in which they placed the fish abt [about] the size of a small cod… placed upon a kind of stage… of hard wood… & underneath they supplied live coals… till the fish within became brown… then offered it to the strangers in clean leaves gathered fresh from the trees… the gentlemen declined the invitation… *some of the sailors were not so dainty, they not only eat with them o'days, but slept with them a'nights*[sic] (Marra, gunners mate, 19/4/1773 - my emphasis)

When Cook and his men visited Dusky Bay they had much experience of interacting with Pacific people including Māori. Furthermore, there seem to have been few Māori there and the ship's men outnumbered them, so risk taking by Europeans had less

potential for going wrong or having a violent outcome. The men were better informed. They perhaps felt less threatened by the local 'others'. They had just returned from the extreme environment of the southern ocean, and they sailed into Dusky Bay on a beautiful sunny day. These factors ensured an auspicious introduction to the locals. As Marra infers, the sailors were *comfortable with eating and sleeping with them.*

The episode described above does not exactly fit English customary practice where hosts and visitors eat the same food prepared the same way. It may have invoked suspicion in the officers, but not the 'men' who were accustomed to taking risks, trying new things, stepping between worlds and learning how to survive in unfamiliar environments with unfamiliar persons. Furthermore eating is a way of removing the *tapu*[101] from visitors who have just been welcomed (Te Maire Tau, 2003: 77). This formal '*whakanoa*' or removal of tapu by contact with food observed by Marra may not have been understood by him, but exposes the Māori concept that *tapu* is not necessarily a permanent feature of things or people.

> [Tapu]… suggests a contractual relationship between the individual and his deity whereby a person dedicates himself or an object… in return for protection against malevolent forces… the [tapu] object could not be put to profane use… transgression incurred vengeance [of the gods]… the condition of tapu is transmitted by contact or association… a tohunga… must cleanse himself before resuming his secular duties… to avoid spreading this… or to avoid offending the gods (Māori Marsden, 1975: 195-7)

Just as *utu* exists in positive and negative forms, so *tapu* is relational, and has its balanced opposite - *noa*. With *utu*, it ensures the perpetuation of spiritual relationships. One must act differently towards objects in their different states and ritual mediation is required to convert the one to the other. The visit of Cook's *Resolution* to Dusky Bay furnished some further examples of the practice of making and removing *tapu*, which is the key to understanding the exchanges of prestige items such as greenstone and fine cloaks that are discussed in the latter part of this chapter. It is a key also to understanding what chiefs did and did not do, and the expectations that they had for the behaviour of Captains, officers and 'men', an explanation of which follows.

Thus far the reported 'ordinary' behaviours of Māori and European actors, and the 'ordinary things' transacted have been examined for what they can tell us about mutual understandings. None of these 'things' was quite as ordinary as it may at first have seemed and non-ranked people contributed as much to the outcomes as did Chiefs, Captains and officers. Subaltern folk had some agency and influenced the course of events too. Moreover, everyday 'things', including food and tools operated as mediators in construction of understandings, by how they were used and by their commonly

understood properties and functions. Similarly, this last section examines 'things' that were sometimes seen as more prestigious or different and regarded by Māori and Europeans as more 'valuable', though the worlds that they occupied for each party were both different, and involved completely different justifications of worth.

Extra-ordinary things that may change their tapu status

Some 'things' not usually exchanged or given loomed large in the European imagination and in their representations of Māori as savages - human heads and body parts, acts of cannibalism and unexplained violence. They appeared occasionally during 'transactional events'. Just as food transaction preparation and consumption expose the idea of *tapu* and the differing understandings Māori and Europeans had of food, so too do their different behaviours towards the human body, cannibalism and human heads. Particular journal quotations reveal some conflicting thoughts:

> We arrived at Queen Charlotte Sound on the 18th May… we saw many of the Natives. They are desperate, fearless, ferocious Cannibals… I have seen a couple of them, in`giving us the war song … work themselves into a frenzy, foaming at the mouth, and perfectly shaking the whole Quarter deck
> (Elliot, seaman, 1771)

> … One of the Gentlemen found amongst the baggage in a Canoe, a raw human head, cut off close to the shoulders. This discovery is said to have caused much consternation amongst the People in the Canoe, who put it out of sight again with all possible expedition… it does not by no means follow with certainty that this Head was preserved to be eaten… I cannot help relating a circumstance or two… as they tend to shew how far we are liable to be misled by Signs, report, & prejudice
> (William Wales, astronomer)[102]

> Some natives brought alongside… four of the heads of the men they had lately kill'd, both the hairy scalps & skin of the faces were on: Mr Banks bought one of the four, but they would not part with the other.
> (Cook, 20/1/1770)

Obeyesekere said that it is likely that reactions of European seamen to heads and body parts were influenced by public discourse on savagery and barbarism and by popular naval discourse on cannibalism occurring in extreme circumstances (op.cit, chapter five). Midshipman Gilbert combined this attitude with an observation about food scarcity for Māori at Queen Charlotte Sound, as Barber (ibid.) has also pointed out:

> The savageness of their dispositions and horrid barbarity of their customs, is fully expressed in their countenances; which is ferocious and frightful beyond imagination… Those who are so unfortunate as to be taken prisoners… are certain of their fates… being cut to pieces, roasted and voraciously devoured… From whence this barbarous custom first originated is uncertain… If anything may be offered in favour of its practice here is that of extreme Hunger. (George Gilbert, midshipman, in Holmes, 1982: 26-7)

There were thus variations in reaction and positioning of different members of the ship's company, 15-year-old Elliot representing a quite sensational scene, Wales

withholding judgement and unwilling to act on hearsay, Kempe sympathising with the victims, Cook acting the dispassionate reporter, young Gilbert showing similarities with Elliot and Kempe, and speculating reflexively about why people should indulge in this 'barbarous custom'. They were no doubt influenced as Obeyesekere said, but their comments also reveal *they had individual thoughts about the matter that would have contributed to the men's gossip aboard ship*. Based on these examples alone, the possibility is that decorporated heads were not destined for consumption, and may in fact be treasured, or valued for other reasons - being, for example, the remains of relatives, and if enemy victims of warfare may be eaten/kept for exchange later as *positive utu* in peace ceremonies. Though all are heads, they have different properties and meanings. Otakou missionary James Watkin described for example, his alarm on seeing "a jaw with teeth serving as" an ear pendant, but discovered that it was kept in remembrance of the owner's dead child (24/06/1842)[103]. R.Taylor (1854) described how preserved heads of family warriors were put in perfumed baskets and taken home to be 'objects of grief', whilst those of enemies were insulted (in Starke, 1986: 73). Such heads would have been *tapu* with respect to their relatives and *noa* to their sellers.

On the other hand, the head of a chief was his most *tapu* part, through which he was connected via his hair to his descent lines and the *mana* of his ancestors, and for it to have contact with less tapu things such as food, or persons, especially commoners, would endanger the ancestral power (Salmond, 1985: 241). The tattooed head of a chief thus had different properties than the head of one's own child and may be possessed/obtained for an entirely different reason, such as to humiliate or diminish the power of an enemy, i.e. as *utu.* Consuming his body parts would have the same effect. Thus, depending upon whether the body parts being consumed in cannibalism belonged to a relative, a chief, a commoner, a slave or a foe, they may be more or less *tapu*, or even *noa*, and depending on circumstances or as a result of ritual, the same part could *change* its tapu/noa *status*.

The journals describe numerous situations of heads exchanged with European sailors and naturalists, including Joseph Banks whose interest in them was as curiosities he could discuss with people like Blumenbach (cited in Hyland, 2005: 7). "Taka" of the *Sophia* crew traded them at Port Jackson (Entwisle, 2005: 124-7)[104], and both instances served to reinforce the 'savagery' discourse in Georgian coffee houses and Sydney pubs, leaving room for payment of negative *utu* on more unsuspecting Europeans, such as, perhaps, the *Sophia*'s Captain and crew at Otakou (op cit: chapter 4). Some *utu* is yet to be paid, whilst these now *tapu* heads of real peoples' ancestors languish in European museums

and private collections, though some are now returning 'home' as Henare has described (2005: 48).

Ceremonial Things and Transactions 'offer' illumination

Following what 'things' are *doing* in transactions can illuminate which ideas, intentions, understandings and misunderstandings are animating the human actors. The 'first encounter' of Cook and his men with local Māori at Dusky Bay in 1773 involved several ceremonial events of which some "thick descriptions" are available[105]. These provide a view from various European perspectives of the contexts and details of the meetings. No actual words used by Māori participants remain, but their clothing and other possessions, their gestures and behaviours, and European responses to them are described in great detail. These are *'things'* that *did something*. They were actors and one of the things they did was to 'speak' to us about what was going on. They had agency. As Henare suggests "meanings are not 'carried' by things but just *are identical* to them… material may enunciate meaning" (Henare, Holbraad and Wastell, 2007: 3-4).

Fine woven cloaks were 'things' women made. They harvested, prepared and wove the *harakeke* (flax) observing ritual protocols[106] involving *tapu/noa* transformations and symbolism, and performed their relationship with the gods, via the natural world over which the gods had power. With rituals performed correctly, the gods would continue to deliver them the gifts of life. Tcherkézoff explains that the 'life' delivered is "a feeling of belonging" perpetuated through mutual understanding of polyvocal symbolism whose interpretation requires 'an imaginary core of identifying references' (2002: 49). These references are connected with Māori cosmology, gods, ancestors and land, as previously explained. Through them the raw materials could be obtained and the life preserving and enhancing cloaks could be made. Once completed cloaks were used for clothing, in transactions between other persons such as chiefs, whose mana could be contained and displayed by them and through them they could pass on the sanctity of former owners and their relationships (Tcherkézoff, 2004; Weiner, 1985; Hooper, 2006, Weiner & Schneider, 1989). They became personal gifts, economic exchanges, war reparations, and even saved life as in the case of the sealer Caddell (Tcherkézoff, 2002: 27-45; Riki Ellison, 1988: 40)[107]. Māori cloaks would even have enabled chiefs to "exchange perspectives" in and for particular situations in the manner that M. Strathern has described for male Melanesian clan leaders (in Pederson, 2007: 146). Cloaks were an *embodiment of relationships*, including relationships with the gods who are, to Māori,

ancestors - just as land is[108]. Cloaks thus represented family genealogies in the same way as has been described for Samoan fine mats (Tcherkézoff, 2002: 28; Weiner, 1985: 210), and could be considered mnemonic devices regarding social relations as Pederson has described (2007: 148)[109]. They could both constrain and display *mana* " represent[ing] man's control of the divine"(Valeri quoted in Babdzain, 2003) and like people they had trajectories where they gained more dense and alternative meanings, and in events their presence alone could change the course of those events. In some cases they were perceived in the same way as living persons are, the actual instantiation of their former owners as in the case of Perehiko's cloak over which his relatives mourned in the absence of his physical body (Cruise in Mead, 1969: 176), and the cloak "Te Mamae o Pareraututu" described by Tapsell (1997: 345). For Māori, it could be just as Henare has said - *they do not just carry meanings, but are identical to them* (ibid. my emphasis).

So let us examine what Cook and his men have to say about transactions with cloaks, and what he would have seen as their equivalent - European clothing:

> When we took our leave, the chief presented me with a piece of cloth or garment of their own manufacturing & some other trifles. I at first thought it was meant as a return for the presents I had made him; but he soon undeceived me, by expressing a desire for one of our boat cloaks. I took the hint, & ordered one to be made for him of red baize, as soon as I got aboard… 9th April… we paid the natives another visit, & made known our approach by hallooing to them; but they never answered us, nor met us at the shore as usual. The reason of this we soon saw; for we found them at their habitations, all dressed and dressing, in their very best, with hair combed and oiled, tied up on the crowns of their heads, and stuck with white feathers. Some wore a fillet of feathers round their heads; and all of them had bunches of white feathers stuck in their ears; thus dressed and all standing they received us with great courtesy. I presented the chief with the cloak… with which he seemed so well pleased, that he took his Pattapattou from his girdle, and gave it me.
> (James Cook 1771, Dusky Bay)

In this overlap of cultural worlds, Cook was surprised, perhaps thought that a boat-cloak and a Māori cloak would be of similar value - being cloaks and 'took the hint'. British naval boat cloaks happened to be red, and the reciprocal cloak was made by one of Resolution's subalterns. He was there. We know because he made the cloak, in which his time and energy were invested. In contrast with Māori cloaks, this craftsperson was not a woman, and it is unlikely any religious rituals were performed during its making, although the fibre was natural and originated in his homeland. Additionally, the rank of the donor and recipient were displayed through their dress being more elaborate than the others in their respective parties, and having some similarity.

The intersection of the worlds of cloaks was sufficient for the human actors to establish some value and meaning equivalence, but it is unlikely that Cook would have realised the religious implications that either of the cloaks had for the Chief - the boat-

cloak being made of the sacred colour red, being exchanged with someone of similar *mana*, therefore enhancing Cook's own *mana* and that of the recipient. It is also unlikely that Cook knew that the gift of *pounamu* had similar ritual significance, being a product of the land and the work of an expert. The expert was present in it, and this constituted one of its agentive properties (cf. Strathern, 1996: 517-18), with the intention of keeping the Māori-European relationship in a perpetual state of imbalance in order to maintain its function, and to increase the *mana* of the donor as Metge has suggested is also visible here (2002: 317-8).

This new situation for Cook and the Chief was at Dusky Bay. For Cook this was where he had called to rest his men, repair and reprovision the *Resolution*. The Chief called the place "Tamatea" a name given by the ancestors to memorialise one of them who had called there previously[110]. It was part of his *whakapapa* connection to the land and its resources. The name established his relationship with the land, and was woven into the cosmological fabric of his understanding of the world. Both these courageous and enterprising men were dealing with largely unknown historical contexts of the 'other'. For Cook, who had met other Māori, there must have been prior understanding of *tapu, mana*, possibly *utu*, and of Polynesian gods, gained from first-hand experience, but for the Chief, whom Marra reports as appearing very fearful, it was probably a new experience, a matter of serious danger, requiring exact attention to all the ritual protocols in order to avoid divine retribution and ensure that this foreign transaction would be a life giving one. He needed also to take calculated risks and to create spontaneously and contingently, understandings of Cook and his men's behaviour, and the meaning of their 'gifts'. That the meetings proceeded without violence indicates that the sailors and 'others' present also did nothing that undermined the transactions. Their contingent behaviour too, was a contributing factor, and gunner's mate Marra's insights show that he was reflexive and careful in recording them:

> 3rd April –[1773]… as the Cptn [&] boat's crew, was taking his survey… among the islands, he perceived an aged Indian standing upon a point of land… took notice that he seemed to wave a bough which he held in his hand… The Captn… fearless of danger, caused the boat's crew to put him on shore without a companion.

Like the chief, Cook also, exhibited contingent and reflexive abilities as part of his agency. Having come up through the ranks he too, had an enhanced ability to cross between worlds:

> … but it was discovered that some ceremonies were wanting to ratify the peace. The Indian had brought his green bough, & presented it to the Captn, but the Captn had omitted to present a green bough in return… when [he] next went surveying… [he prepared] a green bough on purpose… upon… approach waved it in the boat & immediately rowed to land. The Indian... embraced him, & having a green bough in his hand made a long speech ... delivered with so much grace & dignity… They then exchanged their boughs... from this time the old man came down to the ship without fear…
> (Marra, 1773)

The contexts for these intercultural transactions between worlds were thus dynamic and constantly being reconfigured. When worlds intersect, the role of 'things' like cloaks and greenstone, alone and in combination with that of people, helps stabilise at least temporarily the space-between and provide polyvocal symbolic referents that enable communication and the development of new ways of doing things that may further the relationship. New or foreign things assist this process, because "[e]valuations of entities, people, groups and relationships *emerge at the moment of transaction"* (Thomas, 1991: 7, my emphasis)[111].

Summary

This chapter has described the role taken by 'things' in transactions between Māori and Europeans of different ranks, incorporating contributions to theories of gifting and transaction by Appadurai, Firth, Mauss, Mirowski, Smart, Tcherkézoff, Thomas, and Weiner. It is suggested that things gain layers of meaning as Weiner suggests, and that these layers may parallel the way that persons develop dividual selves in the manner described by Strathern.

The chapter has also shown how subalterns/former subalterns (like Cook) through taking risks and acting contingently learned about the life worlds and beliefs of Māori. How Māori and Europeans transacted much more than material objects by ordinary everyday informal observation of each other, and by transactions of ordinary things such as fish, fishing equipment, skills and ideas, has also been shown. These situations and 'things' constituted a domain where meanings of objects had more commonality between worlds, because they involved the basics of life. The polyvocality of things has been discussed in relation to their agency and agentive force as it can be interpreted from Salmond's, and also Tapsell's descriptions of Māori epistemology and ontology of things in the Māori world. The implication for understanding transactions through the idea that objects occupy different worlds of signification and worth *and* act in different "regimes of action" has been considered (Boltanski & Thévenot, cited in Dodier, 1993:567). In their

transactions with 'things' people thus forged new relationships and adjusted the social borders of their communities.

This project is about the past *and* the present, about social practices, things transacted and relationships formed between Europeans and Māori, so in the following chapter the continuity of these practices and things is traced, by following the social network threads of a particular community of actors located in the southern part of New Zealand's South Island.

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[84] See also Koptyoff, cited in Osteen, (2002: 235).

[85] Gudeman says "to probe across borders for a variety of motives… establishing mutuality and peace, expressing dominance, manipulating to advantage, displaying power or wealth and bringing in new members"(2001: 86).

[86] See also Strathern (1990:38), who says that *taonga* were "merely illustrations"[in Tapsell op.cit]. Tapsell emphasises the individuality and rich diversity of *taonga* and that they should not be cast together. He also criticises both Firth and Weiner for essentialising *taonga* according to Western concepts, and criticising Weiner's use of *hau* for the word 'spirit' used in Tregear's (1904:387-8) original, when the more correct term would be *mauri*.

[87] See Tapsell (1997: 343) " …the *koro* [old man] was finally able to reunite himself with his *kuia* (grandmother/old lady/great grandmother). I watched the tall old man quietly collapse to his knees in front of Pareraututu. With great reverence he leaned forward and completed his hongi with his great grandmother. A lifetime of energy abandoned him and tears rolled own his cheeks onto the cloak as his family helped lift him back to his feet…".

[88] A view supported by Harold Ashwell and James McAloon of Ngāi Tahu. They 'noted that fishing rights were one of… several property rights which belonged to specific people… trespass provoked intense feelings of concern, and often provoked violent responses' (in Habib, 1989: 188).

[89] For example, "One of these people I took over to Motuara, and shewed him some potatoes planted there… two or three families… now took up their abode near us, employing themselves daily in fishing, and supplying us… " (Cook 29/05/1773).

[90] Thomas (1991: 108: 103) says " [t]o say that black bottles were given does not tell us what was received".

[91] See Wills of Captain Cook's Crew - Will of William Anderson, transcribed from family records Centre London, Microfilm Ref. Prob. 11/1070. Transcribed by Cliff Thornton. Available online@ www.captaincooksociety.co/ccsu4514.htm

[92] Fanny Burney's diaries describe "one [Tahitian] mourning dress brought back to England by a seaman… was sold for the sum of five and twenty guineas", and the same is likely to have occurred for New Zealand items (J. Freeman, 1949: 1-10).

[93] Cf. King's journal in McNab (1914, Vol 2: 544) for a description of the method used by Māori women for preparing dressed flax.

[94] Dening describes theft in the Marquesas: "They stole light-heartedly, giggling when they were caught making little effort at evasion, openly sticking more moveable objects, such as pipes, into their perforated ear lobes, or shoes into their headdresses. And they stole because the Europeans lay totally outside their system" (1966: 40).

[95] Cf. Sahlins (1965: 153).

[96] In Burke (2005) "pilfering… sabotage… arson" etc. and "mimicry that may be read from above as mistakes, but viewed from below look like mockery". Scott describes them as forms of resistance.

[97] See also Georg Forster (1773, quoted in Mitchell & Mitchell, 2005, Vol 1: 161).

[98] Lake Forsyth, Banks Peninsula.

[99] Cf. R&M. Richards op cit. (2000: 4,10).

[100] See also Firth (1959: 423).

[101] "Tapu both proclaimed spiritual power and contained it, so that life could continue without… hindrances. The violation of tapu could sometimes be neutralised by the use of the proper ritual… New meeting houses were declared tapu but the force of the tapu [can be] contained by the ritual of having a woman… by nature noa (free from tapu) step over the threshold… "(Mikaere, 1988: 42)

[102] "Monday 12 March 1773. Came alongside Several Canoes & Trade with us the Inhabbitance to be Poor creatures… Discovered one of the people to have a mans head Neary fresh [sic]. We attempted to take it from but thought it would make a confusion and Disturbance among them" (Constable Love, midshipman, ATL. MS. journal, ADM.51/4520/8).

"9th April 1773… In the course of trafficking we saw something rapped up in some matting (they make of silk grass) & on opening it we discovered the head and neck of a Man cut off close down to the shoulders but they instantly rapped it up again and very cautiously conveyed it away from place to place and notwithstanding the endeavours of some of our people they could not get it & the Man that had it seemed in the greatest terror & they all presently withdrew to the other side of the Bay where they continued fishing until evening (William Bayly, astronomer, ATL. MS journal, MS-copy-Micro-0343).

"Monday 12th April [1773] At 10AM came alongside several Canoes and traded with us. But the Indian Man and Woman that had the Head of an Indian in the first canoe (which we supposed they had killed) has never since made their appearance. The Inhabitants here without doubt War with each other, Tribe against Tribe, and those Un-happy persons, whose lot it is to fall becomes the prey of the Victorious. [F]rom hence it can be no longer a doubt that there is traces of cannibals existing" (Arthur Kempe, Lieutenant, ATL. MS journal, ADM51/4520/2).

[103] James Watkin, diary, 24/06/1842, qms-2123, Hocken Library. Dunedin.

[104] See Entwisle (2005) Appendix 5

[105] See Clifford Geertz (1973: 6).

[106] For example, not harvesting/weaving while menstruating, not damaging the *rito* (growing tip), returning the waste to the base of the bush etc.

[107] See also Pendergrast (1997: 2), Tapsell (1997: 342).

[108] See chapter 2.

[110] See Tau and Anderson (2008: 45) Tamatea was the captain of the Takitimu canoe which was wrecked in Southland.

[111] Cf. Gudeman "offering a gift probes, defends, secures and expands borders of community"(2001: 80).

Figure 8. Anita Bay, just inside Milford Sound - the site where Maori and Captain William Andrew Anglem went to collect greenstone to send to China. Watercolour Painting: “Entering Milford Sound in HMS Acheron” by Frederick Evans. ATL. Ref. No. B-062-019

CHAPTER 6

The Net of Tahu: Transaction and Identity

> Ordinary people plan and make decisions about their lives independently and with surprising and dramatic results
> (Epili Hau'ofa, 2002)

This chapter contains insights from Latour's Actor Network method. The ideas of Boltanski and Thévenot, Marilyn Strathern and Amiria Henare provide another perspective on how sociality is performed by subalterns, whose records are sparse indeed. Strathern says, "A network is an apt image for describing the way one can link… disparate entities without making assumptions about level or hierarchy"(1996: 174). Ordinary people are made more visible by considering objects they made and used. Network thinking levels the playing field - particularly for subalterns. Considering 'things' from the Māori viewpoint, means that they remain present in their descendants, both human and non-human, and they too reveal aspects of past sociality not otherwise visible.

Like Latour's scientists eighteenth-nineteenth century Māori and Europeans were "faced with an interesting cognitive… conflict" as their worlds intersected when they met and transacted 'things'. Establishment of common referents was required (1999: 27). This was achieved through the agency of ordinary people-and-things. Latour's scientists established common referents by superposition of different maps of the same area, and Māori and Europeans did also. Ancestral names on land and seascapes could be regarded as "combinable inscriptions" (ibid: 30-9) - they associate for Māori with myth and ancestors' achievements, giving them a visible presence. For Pākehā they valorise more recent European discoveries. Superposed these represent a common world, making land/sea/resources a temporarily stable referent. Like the naval boat-cloak and the feather cloak, they *do* something, persisting as referents because the real objects and images sampled and preserved in the archival collections of Cook and Banks, for example, can testify for the other 'texts' quoted here. Whaler's harpoon, iron fish-hook, cloak and land, mariner's journals and this text are incorporated in the 'hybrid mixture', and stabilise the interactions they were involved in at any point where we might choose to cut the flow to examine what was happening socially (cf. ibid: 30-9).

Strathern says her *Cutting the Network* follows "Latour's call for a symmetrical anthropology that gathers together modern and non-modern forms of knowledge" (1996:

169). Both see 'people' and 'things' in hybrid networks, acting together, 'doing' things, and what they *do* is interesting. Conventional networks of social and economic contacts exist as a kind of structure in organizations, such as a ship, for example. Actor-networks "[deploy] a mix of technical and social competences" (Strathern, 1996: 520-1; Latour, 1993: 10-11), including the human actors on the ship *and* all the equipment and ideas, they act with in hybrid assemblages, maintaining the life of the ship. Following the chain of social circumstances holding the network together gives insight into their social interactions (ibid.). These networks, Strathern sees as being infinitely large. To apprehend their stories requires some stabilising technique, such as interpretive reflection enacted in writing. Strathern argues that "if we can take certain kinds of networks as socially expanded hybrids then we can take hybrids as condensed networks", and this too can stabilise the flow of interactions within the network (Strathern, 1996: 523). Writing could thus be an artefact or analytical hybrid just like a cooper's knife or a fine cloak. It contains/embodies the social relationships of the network from which it is condensed, just as Hagener women can be seen as "tradestores" containing a bank of "nurture from [their] kin", and Warnier's Bamiléke chief 'is' the "corporate estate of the lineage" (ibid: 527, 517). Using the Māori cosmological viewpoint previously described, we could extend this to the cloak of Pareraututu, which to her grandson *is* Pareraututu (embodying her own social relationships and *mauri*[112]) (cf. Tapsell, 1997: 345). When relationships are transformed, so are the hybrid assemblages, and vice versa.

One could say that all 'things' in the social world are hybrids, having been manufactured/selected for use by humans, and sometimes restructured/assigned new purposes/functions by and in combination with them. Like tools, they have been invented. Strathern said, "culture has been added to nature" (ibid: 524); for example the red boat-cloak at Dusky Bay. Its maker used a standard naval design *and* invested his time, effort and ingenuity into it. It included the orders of his Captain, the work of the fishermen and cook who fed him, and the demands of the Māori Chief whom Cook wished to please - a few components of the social-actor network involved. The boat-cloak *contained* all these things, including the transactions themselves. They helped change the course of social history in New Zealand, as inventions and hybrid 'things-and-people' do (cf. ibid: 527).

Insights gained from these different 'takes' on networks, people and things supplement ideas about gifting and exchange offered by Mauss, Godelier, Nicholas Thomas, Annette Weiner and Serge Tcherkézoff. Interpretations they provide in contrast, particularly for

prestige items - greenstone, fine cloaks, European tools, clothing and Pacific island *tapa* cloth presented by Captains and Chiefs were described in the last chapter.

Some transactions in Southern Te Wai Pounamu

Dusky Sound- named by Southern Māori *Tamatea* after their mythical ancestor is actually a fiord. Cook met a small number of Maori there in 1773 and their interactions were different from those elsewhere. Besides its location on the south-west coast of Te Wai Pounamu with its extreme sea and weather conditions, Dusky Bay is close to sites in Fiordland and Foveaux Strait where sealers and whalers later lived for extended periods, sometimes amongst Māori with whom they traded, worked, and raised families. The intersection of worlds and its negotiation was documented by missionaries, ship's officers and men. It is also inscribed upon and embodied in objects they made and used, as it is in Ngāi Tahu *whakapapa* (genealogies). Material items and assemblages containing them remain, and their owners' genealogies give insights into the social processes and activities they have participated in. In Latour's words they give us clues as to how the "social" has been "reassembled" over time. Taking to heart Latour's injunction to let them tell their own story (2005:29), I visited Murihiku in 2008 to participate in one *Kaumātua's*[113] "social assemblages". Following connecting threads revealed some intersections between worlds and highlighted the efficacy and polyvocality of referents in the development of understandings. Amongst those referents are texts about early Murihiku including *whakapapa*, journals/logs, novels, archaeological reports, political and government documents, newspaper articles and ethnographies. These highlighted how people themselves could also be considered referents, whose polyvocality consisted in their biological and cultural hybridity, and their ability to adjust their own actions, and learn new things during social interactions - a process that is ongoing today.

I had created a frame, I thought, by reflecting on the mariner's journals, viewing them from the perspective of the ordinary sailors and Māori they interacted with. How they exchanged things might provide insights into understandings which each had of their respective 'others'. The journals of Europeans required reading 'between the lines' to 'see' the Māori commoners. It seemed that commoners might become more visible using the actor network method, tracing the objects they used. These objects sought in repositories, such as museums, were regarded as assemblage samples of past lives and traced back by textual means from the present to the early nineteenth century. The result was surprising indeed.

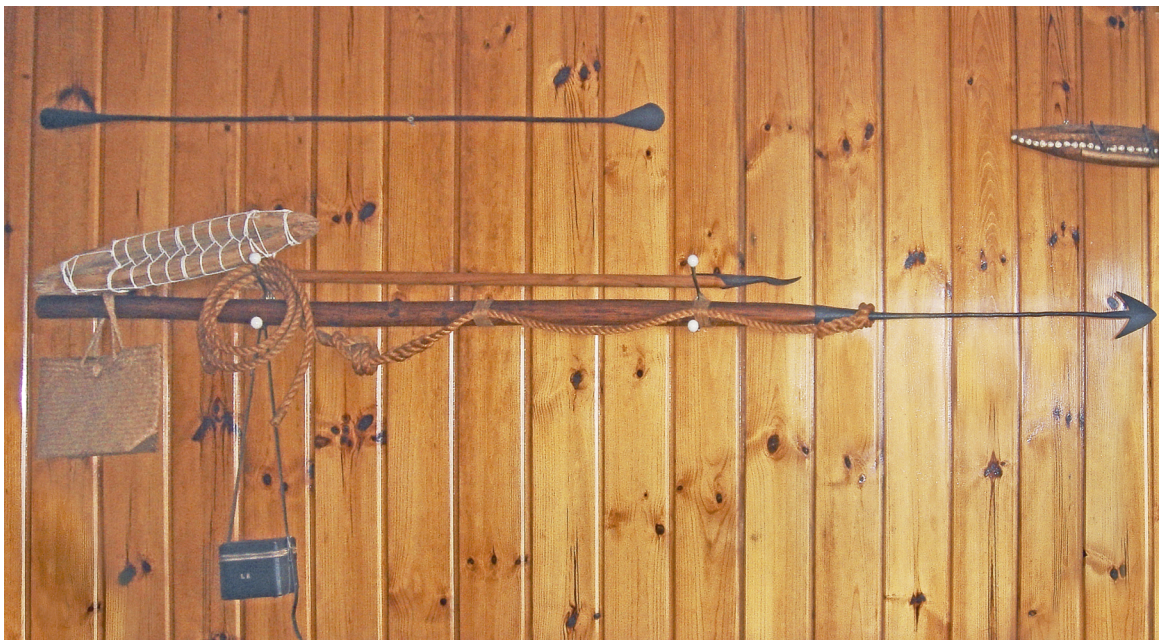

Figure 9. The “Anglem’ harpoon as it now is - part of the Kaumatua’s display. Private collection. Photo: G.A. Creevey.

The Kaumātua's assemblage: Intersecting social worlds in Te Wai Pounamu

A *kaumātua* could be described as a 'living treasure' for s/he is an elderly member of the *iwi* whose respected status stems from his/her knowledge and wisdom in the performance of relationships, protocols and history of kin-group and locality. This *kaumātua* is a warm and kindly person - descendant of Māori and European whaling and sealing folk, who generously shared her knowledge of some 'things' from sealing and whaling days. Establishing their *whakapapa* in its wider context of other *whakapapa* became the centre of discussion. A new frame emerged. The reference map was in the mind of the *Kaumātua*. Names of people and places, times, gods, ancestors and marae from Murihiku to Otakou to Horomaka rolled off her tongue. She and her visualised map set the reference points for the worlds to be discussed. Fortunately sufficient of these names were familiar, so that I could follow and learn from the pathways traced; so the map was temporarily stabilised as a referent for the discussion. 'I always say "*Ko Hananui te Mauka*"' she said, referring in Ngāi Tahu-Kati Māmoe dialect to the mountain of Rakiura (Mt. Anglem, Stewart Island), and "*Ko te Ara a Kiwa te Moana*" (The pathway of Kiwa [Foveaux Strait] the sea), from which she comes. My own location on the map of kin and places had also to be established. People were described in their *relationships* with each other, with land and sea.

The objects remained silent initially, watching over us, like ancestors surveying the scene - the past in the present as described for the land itself, which is a roadmap of *whakapapa*[114]. It was important to establish first who was who, when, and where. The particular ancestors were Teanau and her husband, Irish sea-captain William Andrew Anglem, who arrived in Te Wai Pounamu in 1828 bringing whalers for the shore station Rakitimu at Preservation Inlet. Also a sealer, Anglem once lived at Preservation inlet where his daughter Ellen was born, but he was mainly a trader, losing an eye and some fingers in an explosion at Anita Bay (Milford Sound - see Figures 1 and 8) whilst mining *tangiwai* greenstone to take to China. The Chinese didn't like it because of the black specks it contains (Howard 1974: 91-2). "We had a large block of greenstone for a doorstep [on Rakiura] … They are just sending a piece of greenstone back to China again at the moment. Don't you know about that? It's to do with the Olympic games in Beijing", the *Kaumātua* said, as an aside (cf. The Press, 14/06/2008). Tracing the thread of the harpoon connects greenstone in the past and the present, Te Wai Pounamu, Rakiura

and China, Māori and *Tauiwi* (foreigners), via ships and now aircraft, as a gift and symbol of Ngāi Tahu's continuing socially agentive action.

Captain Anglem, like several whaling captains with Māori wives, had his family educated in Sydney. It is important not to confuse him with his son William Robert, also a whaler who married Mere (Huutu) Wood, a whaler's daughter. One should take note of peoples' second names to avoid confusion. The framing of this discussion about 'objects exchanged in whaling & sealing times' was thus fundamentally centred on a social-kinship-locality map - Ngāi Tahu-Kati Māmoe *whakapapa*, as a referent.

Discussion then shifted to the family bibles "left in Poua Henare's house at Papatiki", Rakiura. Written in *Te Reo*[115], they contained pressed feathers and plant leaves from the local natural world, together with the usual births and marriages found in contemporary European bibles as evidence of *whakapapa* connections. They also represented the influence of Lutheran missionary Wohlers. Names of influential school- teachers at Stewart Island were mentioned, as were other things left in the old home and not valued by the children. Now we realise their importance, the bibles are wrapped in acid-free tissue etc. Regrettably, we agreed, young people in general do not always realise the value of old objects. The bibles too are temporarily stable referents in this discussion, and have been through some transformations. Once a centre of family prayers and readings, they are now conserved treasures, for occasional reference - a focus in *whakapapa* discussions. They could also be said to have stabilised the *whakapapa* contained in them.

William Robert Anglem, 'half-Māori', 'half-European', whaler, brother of Ellen and married to Mere Hūtu was also present, in the form of his whaling harpoon and lances (see Figure 9) - stamped with a few letters referencing a ship he worked on. Someone did the stamping and made the harpoon. He was present there too. Anglem's son and grandson Patrick Gilroy Anglem kept the harpoon at the old family home, even after the whales had gone. Hand-made of iron, its former ironwood pole having during its working life been substituted with *manuka* wood, and with its new rope[116] replacing the old one broken and worn by age and service, transformed by use in these waters (cf. Bennett, 2004 (1840): 158). The story it tells mediates between the natural world of the whales, and the working world of the harpooner. It reflects the prestigious position of the harpooner who next to the captain, received the highest percentage of the *lay.* This harpooner kept his harpoon, and his son and grandson kept it too. Why? The whales had gone. For 'old times sake? Maybe it reflected his self-conscious identity - like the stories he told later at Doubtful Sound, a symbol of his adventurous life. During its useful life it

became physically and socially hybrid, now transformed yet again and varnished for display, with new replica ropes, as part of a new assemblage with a whaling lance, a modern *kete* (fine flax bag), a model of a *mokihi* raft and so on - souvenirs of a remembered past and of wider social connections. It re-appears as an identity-symbol of his descendants, still mediating, this time between Captain William Robert and his great-grandchildren.

Tracing social connections back from Captain William Robert's harpoon, currently stabilised as a display item, took several directions. Both he and his wife were part Māori. He served as a sixteen year old on the whaling vessel "Post Boy" under Captain Paddy Gilroy, husband of the aforementioned Ellen, born at Preservation Inlet[117]. Gilroy, who arrived in 1835 (G. Craig Thompson papers, HL. MS-4140/011), is a legend in southern whaling and subject of some famous episodes described in Frank Bullen's novel "Cruise of the Cachalot" (1898). He manoeuvred his ship *Chance* so well in a storm that he could pick up a number of whales which American whalers had cast adrift. Bullen's preface describes himself (an experienced merchant seaman) as eager to explain the lives and working conditions of ordinary seamen in the nineteenth century merchant service (ibid: p. ix). The *kaumātua* told me "Dad always said that the book exaggerated the conditions coming through Raggedy Passage" in the storm[118] but the description of the boat and the captain's relationship with his men - the Māori crew especially, are relevant here. This famous whaling book has stabilised a view of Māori whalers in the late nineteenth century. One, was to become Captain William Robert Anglem, the former owner of the harpoon under discussion - and brother-in-law of Paddy Gilroy:

> "Paddy," the master of the Chance, was unsurpassed as a whale-fisher or a seaman by any Yankee that sailed from Martha's vineyard... eccentric in his dress… rumour credited him with a numerous half-breed progeny - he certainly was greatly mixed up with the Māories, half his crew being made up of his dusky friends and relations by marriage… his ship was a veritable ark of refuge … numerous deserters from Yankee whalers… were amongst his crew… on that storm beaten coast he had become, like his Māories, familiar with every rock and tree in fog or clear, by night or day; he knew them… as the seal knows them and feared them as little. There were sixteen white men on board… the rest of the crew of over forty… [were] Māories and half-breeds… there was to be found no jealousy of the Māories being officers and harpooners, no black looks or discontented murmuring… it was a pleasure to visit her cheerful crowd for the sake of their enlivening society… Paddy lolled on the taffrail near the wheel… held by an enormous halfbreed, who leant back and carried on a desultory familiar conversation with his skipper… the anchor was being catted, sails going up, and yards being trimmed; but to observers like us, no guiding spirit was noticeable
> (Bullen, 1898: 324-7)

The harpoon as it now is, distinctly 'used' as expected for an item that has undergone the treatment that Bullen describes, has been an intermediary and mediator between the natural world of whales and the economic world of the harpooner, his rowers, boat steerer

and captain (ibid: 327-65). It is stamped with letters indicating its owner, who was a risk-taker too.

Through his son, the harpoon and lances connected us to William Robert's father also - Captain William Andrew Anglem, husband of Teanau. As master of the schooner *Caroline,* Anglem brought 'cargoes of flax and sealskins', oil and bone from the Preservation inlet whaling station to Sydney in 1830. Then, commanding the *Samuel,* he reached Sydney on the 28th March 1831 with 500 seal-skins and 10 tons of flax. He was then back on the *Caroline* bringing oil, bone, skins flax and 12000 ft. of timber to Sydney (McNab 1907: 398-9). So Anglem was contracted to captain ships between destinations, moving from one to the other in the space of a year. Maybe the 'Anglem harpoon and whaling lances' belonged to William Andrew in the first instance, when he operated out of Preservation inlet, for amongst the cargo he delivered there in the *Caroline* were items of whaling equipment including iron mongery, 1doz. whale lances, 2 coils of rope, 2 grindstones (McNab, 1913: 85) - used in conjunction with harpoons by men at the station where Anglem and Teanau maintained their home, and family (Beattie, 1920: 50).

There, at Preservation Inlet shore-whaling station was a thriving settlement of six houses, a trading store and a 16-boat shed, employing 50-60 men during the season. They worked at other times as sealers and sawyers. Ships and whaling equipment constituted an essential part of the way their lives intersected with the natural and economic worlds. They were also part of the social world of Māori men and women, runaway children, sea captains, sealers, coopers, carpenters and whalers. Life was kind and cruel. In 1838, whaler Edwin Palmer was tried for beating to death with a two and a half inch rope a West Indian ship's boy Charles Denahan, who had neglected his duty and lost a ship's boat (Grady, 1986: 176). In 1832, the *Caroline* returned to whaling at Preservation, this time with Captain Worth. Aboard was William ("Bill/Parara") Palmer, brother of Edwin, (ibid.). He reported years later that "there was a fair sprinkling of Māori [there] and "as Captain Worth had brought his wife with him… she was the object of great attraction to the Māori ladies, who took every opportunity of visiting and inspecting her belongings" (Evening Star 4/07/1891, in Richards, 1995b: 17). Bill's two (successive) Māori wives, bore him 24 children (Grady, 1986: 176). By 1837, whaler Johnny Jones delivered to Preservation Inlet two sons of Sydney baker George Printz, who ran to sea when their mother died. The ten-year-old eldest boy became mate to cooper Owen McShane, and the men made him a Christmas stocking from fishing net, filling it with home made toys and a stick of tobacco. He was to marry Pokuru daughter of chief Huruhuru, and later

Catherine, daughter of American harpooner Lewis Ackers and Pui, and became "a vigorous sea captain, trader and early Southland runholder " (Sansom, 1970: 28; Richards, 1995: 125). Thus, numerous whalers and sealers had Māori wives. Together with their half-caste children they lived in Māori and European worlds, successfully using skills and knowledge from both and each to survive at the boundary.

By 1833 Anglem had moved to Weller's Otakou station, but the Denahan murder would have been known to local Māori women, and their men working in the ships and shore stations. Fear remained part of the equation for whalers - if not fear of the dangerous natural environment, it was fear of 'savages', of one's unpredictable workmates, or loss of one's parents, and it must be mitigated and negotiated. Having initiative, taking calculated risks, contingent use of new skills and cultural capital, were essential for survival.

Ropes, lances and harpoons all contributed, providing regular employment for those working the boats, repairing and maintaining the equipment. Account books of the *Brittania* show (chapter four) the Master of a whaling vessel was "paid about one third of the net profits of the voyage", a harpooner received a 26th share, the boatsteerers, carpenter and cooper a 75th and the nine seamen 100th share amounting to about 2-3 pound a month (Melville MS. quoted in Richards 1996: 124-5). Thus the harpoon delivered to its operator a bigger '*lay*', more social capital, and the success of the venture relied upon it; yet without the boatsteerers, carpenter, cooper and seamen, it was nothing. In conditions described by ex-whaler Frank Bullen, captains, officers, men and boys, including Māori, *had* to work together:

> Dangerous in the highest degree was the task of getting near enough to drive harpoons into the body… such a feat of seamanship was almost beyond belief… (1898: 351).

The 'feat of seamanship' was not simply physical and embodied but psychological, contingent, requiring split-second judgement and informed decision-making. It was an activity where crossing boundaries between classes and cultures became second nature, and was called "learning the ropes easily", something Māori were considered to be particularly good at (Robinson, cited in Morton 1982: 167).

By 1833 Anglem was with the *Lucy Ann* from Weller's Otakou whaling station where "the natives had become very troublesome and... some of them had gone to [Preservation Inlet] to cause trouble there" (McNab, 1913: 406). Anglem's account describes his passengers as "several Māoris taken away… against their will..." because he, Weller,

Hayward and the inhabitants of the station had been assaulted by a 500-strong war party returning from Cloudy Bay. A Māori boy warned them that their lives were in danger:

> Captain Anglim, previous to his departure, for the better security of the lives of the residents of Otago… persuaded some of the Chiefs on board, and having got them below set sail for Sydney in the most secret manner, and kept the natives as hostages for the good conduct of their tribe during the absence of the Lucy Anne…
> (quoted in McNab,1913, 100-106)

One wonders how Anglem single-handedly could accomplish this, but his wife was Māori and he had learned enough of the Māori world to gain their trust, realising that he had a good chance of success. He probably had 'inside information' about the *taua* (war party) to Cloudy Bay. Matenga Taiaroa from Otakou, and Tūhawaiki, from whom Anglem was later to purchase land, were after all, its leaders (Mikaere, 1988: 15). Their movements were well known in the whaling community. Hemplemann at Banks Peninsula traded with them and helped to repair Taiaroa's boat (Hemplemann, Peraki log, 25/10/1837: 58-9). Moreover, Edward Weller's first wife Pararu was the daughter of Tahutu and *mokopuna* (grand-child) of Taikawa both described by Haberfield as Otakou "ariki in December 1836" (Richards, 1995b: 80), so Weller too probably, had 'inside information' and cross-cultural negotiating skills. We know from Gilroy's *Chance* that having Māori crew was not unusual. All whaling/trading vessels had multi-ethnic crew, so captains and especially sailors who worked with them had to learn to cross boundaries between their worlds. It changed the captains and 'other' crew too.

Unsurprisingly, after this kidnapping incident at Otakou, William Andrew had by 1835 handed over his vessel "to the first officer and settled at the Neck", Stewart Island (Howard in Richards, 1995a: 123). Together with former ship's mate James Joss, he had bought land at 'The Neck', (Rakiura/Stewart Island) from Tūhawaiki, in 1836 (Hall-Jones 1945: 51; Howard, 1974: 91), his wife Teanau and children leaving Sydney on July 23rd 1835 by the *Sydney Packet* to join him. "The Wellers took solicitous care of his wife by ensuring she travelled on a boat in which she would find respect and attention" (Howard, 1974: 91). Selwyn's visit in 1844 saw 13 Europeans at Onekia[119] including boat-builder John Carter, their Māori wives with Anglem's wife 'Maria' Teanau, and Carter's 'half-caste wife' 'Sarah' Hinewaiariki whom Richards suggests may have been Boultbee's daughter (1995a: 122). There were 27 'half-caste' children. Tahu Potiki states that such children sometimes "attracted labels such as Utu-Pihikiti (paid for with a biscuit) and Oteparara (traded for the iron hoop of a barrel)", but some such children "were to show

the promise of what might become of a combined Māori and European culture…" (2008: A13; cf. Tikao, 1939: 183). Missionary Wohlers reported:

> The women seem very happy in their position… and as the Māori women have not fallen into apathy… it is not very strange that a New Zealand girl prefers to marry an European. Now such girls… insist on being officially married. This shows a certain strong religious feeling, although it might be also the precaution of tightening the bond… so that the men cannot leave them again… At Captain Anglim's house at the Neck we found a great welcome and was offered hospitality, and every comfort of civilised life… He is a Catholic from Ireland and an educated man, a bit religious too… I have baptised two of his children… in former years… he had an affair with a New Zealand girl. But being a conscientious man, or very fond of her… took her to Sydney where he had her baptized and married her legally. And now he feels tied to his family (he has four children) and mostly has given up going to sea… his wife is from a very noble Māori family and is a close relative to the present high chief Topi[120]
> (ibid: 95, Wohlers mss, 1/5/1845)

Some of William Andrew Anglem's risk-taking enterprises were described in the Southland Times (Otago Witness, 9/12/1812) regarding a trip with Gilroy and West in the *Alarm*, to Doubtful Sound via Preservation Inlet and Dusky Sound, prospecting for copper and gold. Times around the campfire "listening to hairbreadth escapes which Anglem and Gilroy had had… whaling and sealing" as well as Anglem's skill catching weka 'Māori-style' using a long piece of wood with a running noose, making a "whistling noise with a piece of grass he had placed on his mouth", all reveal risk-taking tendencies and the resulting hybrid knowledge of these two Irish Captains W.A. Anglem and son-in-law Paddy Gilroy (both with Māori wives). Perhaps it was one of the whaling expeditions described, where the formerly ironwood pole of the harpoon was broken by a whale and had to be replaced by the *manuka* one it now possesses. Anglem and Gilroy both had lived and worked with the 'men', without distinction of rank as it was on Navy or American whaling vessels. For Anglem and Gilroy the boundaries did not exist and they had become hybrid themselves, in both the class and cultural senses. They did this by taking risks and scaffolding new knowledge gained contingently from others by observation and practice.

W.A Anglem's life was closely connected with Māori people, whaling people and sealing people. Ships, whales and their associated equipment were an integral part of his life. Through them he earned his living by trading and conducted his social life, but as a risk-taker he used a conscious agency to pursue other enterprises with the skills and training he had gained from 'others'. The same must be said for 'Maria' Teanau who supported him in his enterprises, kept house and garden, shared her cultural capital and connections, and educated and raised their children in Māori ways too. Tikao told Beattie in 1939 that he once heard Teanau's daughter, "old Mrs Gilroy of Bluff sing a very

lengthy *waiata* (song)… *Te Tere o Takitimu*… [with]… parts… like a *karakia* [prayer]" describing the canoe voyage to Murihiku of ancestor-captain Tamatea and their people (1939: 114).

When the harpoon was 'out-of-action' Anglem used his Māori connections and their knowledge, sailing his boat and Māori relatives around the familiar Fiordland coast, to "Te Horo" at Piopiotahi[121]. *Takiwai* (Bowenite greenstone) found there, they mined to sell to North Island Māori and to China. Beattie records having been told that "In 1841 Anglem, Gilroy… Stirling and others started trading with Sydney in (dressed) flax" purchased from the North Island by exchanging greenstone. However Mrs Gilroy, said that in her childhood, it was her father and whaler Johnny Jones, on a return trip from Sydney who "picked up some old natives from here [Bluff]… sailed around to Milford, got a cargo of greenstone, then both vessels [the *Royal Mail* and the *Anita*] proceeded to China and the Phillipines" (Beattie, 1920: 50; cf. Howard, 1974: 91-2). The risk-taking was not always successful, and Anglem was seriously injured in a premature explosion. Three crew were reported as being "more or less blind" (Richards, 1995b: 95; Howard, 1974: 91), but he carried on regardless, a testament to his determination, that reveals to some extent his personality.

W.A. Anglem operated simultaneously in two cultural worlds using the capital gained from both, to broker deals, find and exploit resources, and with his wife Teanau trained their children to survive in an emerging new world. Accessing minerals could be regarded as performance of his interest in keeping the land 'warm'. Habib describes how pounamu was "… [f]rom about 1500 AD… highly prized throughout Māoridom" as an exchange item and they travelled there mostly by overland trails. He also reinforced Anderson's view that Ngāi Tahu hunter-gatherers "were composed of highly mobile foraging units" (1989, Part 1: 28-9). Shortland reports them travelling there on "long sea journeys" as well as by land (1844, HL. MS-0086/001). In the Anglems' explorations, using ship transport, they could thus be recognised as utilising European methods to pursue and capture a traditional resource, and thereby perform their ownership of that resource. Their son William Robert was to be just as adventurous - being at sea at 16 years old in Gilroy's whaler.

When whale and seal resources were mostly 'fished out', the equipment was put into storage - in this case, ending up in his son *Poua*[122] Patrick Gilroy Anglem's shed rafters, and later found by his descendants, along with numerous other harpoons, photographs, "sailing ship paraphernalia" and a sea-chest of ship's carpenter's tools[123] In the shed, no

longer visible to others, perhaps the equipment formed a part of his whaling memorabilia, interesting at the time, only to himself. Like the precious objects described by Weiner in her story about 'keeping while giving', asleep 'underground' (1985: 210-27) for a while, and as Latour said became 'silent' (2005: 79) to others, gaining value because of its historicity, before again becoming a mediator when it resurfaced and some parts were converted into the *kaumātuas'* display item - an object of conversation and explanation involving *whakapapa*. As Angela Wanhalla, Te Maire Tau & Tipene O'Regan have noted, "Whakapapa is the framework which binds the natural world to the spiritual world and holds together past, present and future generations" (in Wanhalla, 2004: 14).

Thus as the harpoon, cloak, fish-hook, or text travels from one world to another it transports information/knowledge and exposes to view the human and other non-human actors with whom it acts and interacts. It exposes the women, commoners, the Māori chief, subaltern sailors and the captain. For each, the item has a different meaning and social role because it intersects with a different assemblage and world. Depending upon the perspective and social world of the players, there are therefore many contemporaneous truths about the interactions between Māori and Europeans in early Te Wai Pounamu (cf. Latour, 1999: 164-6). Through using the actor network method as a thinking tool, ignoring the distinction between persons and things and viewing things as co-actors with people such as I have done with the 'Anglem' harpoon and the 'Dusky Bay' cloaks, we have observed from another perspective the *flow of ideas and knowledge* between Māori and European, and the agency of subaltern persons contributing to the direction that various hybrid social collectives took (cf. ibid: 193-4). It is a fabric still being woven.

Cook, Caddell, Tūhawaiki, Patahi: Agency and Identity

I have argued that persons with the experience of subalternity have enhanced abilities and skills that, combined with risk-taking and mediation by transacted things, help constitute the agency of individuals. Here the identities and self-expressions of some Māori and European persons, who participated in these early intercultural transactions are explored. Some examples from their own journals and narratives are used. Other perspectives are from the written observations of their contemporaries. What we write 'after the event' about our actions in a particular situation, when compared with what *others* wrote about what *they* saw, can indicate our motives, intentions and self-consciousness (cf. Abu-Lughod cited in Sokefeld, 1999: 430). With the purpose of

helping to clarify the role of identity and agency in the particular cultural changes described here, some theoretical aspects that appear to be applicable in these Southern Māori-European encounters are now explored**.**

This reading takes the view that social institutions "cannot be understood without the selves that populate them" (A. P. Cohen, 1994: 188). Spiro is concerned that many studies "often… conflate or confuse the concept of the self with other concepts such as person, individual, personality, and self-representation" (1995: 113-8) and that one can view the self from the angle of culture and symbols, self consciousness, personal experience or from the viewpoint of others. He recommends that any investigation of selves - Western and otherwise, must take into account the views that the 'others' have of themselves (ibid.). I see all of these as aspects of identity. It was only possible in this study, to distinguish to a limited extent between aspects of self and identity, I have tried but the to seek out what remains of any of them in the archival material, to gain clues about *identity change* and the resulting *formation of cultural hybridity* amongst some participants in Māori-European transactions. Any aspects of identity related to the reflexive agentive capacity of individuals or their subsequent hybridity have therefore been noted. Notwithstanding that actions of Māori and Europeans were informed by quite different epistemological and cosmological logics, the evidence regarding identity for both of them appears to support the interpretation that persons consist of multiple selves each acting reflexively, agentively and purposely, and mobilised differently in different situations. The notion is the same as Strathern's 'merographic individual':

> … the parts may be thought of as a whole, as the individual parts may also be thought of as wholes… Thus the logic of the totality is not necessarily to be thought of in the logic of the parts (Strathern, 1992: 76)

The selves envisaged are fluid, relational and interactive like those that Sokefeld describes (1999: 422-3). This includes the action of societal structures and cultural schemas that have a constraining role upon relationships, transactions and persons carrying them out. It acknowledges that agency involves social communicative transactions between persons or selves who perform roles *and* act contingently. Such persons would act from embodied habit, *as well as* self-consciously and deliberately. Their selves would be modified by their actions. Agency is about social practices.

> … the constitution of the self has to be seen as the synthesis, to be renewed [reflexively] again and again
> (M. Fuchs, 2000: 16)[124]

Therefore selves are negotiated and in process. They have a genealogy that is added to by their actions - just as fine cloaks and greenstone *taonga* develop layers of meaning (cf. Weiner, 1994: 394-99). There is therefore an historical or biographical aspect to selves. We, and 'others', can reflect upon the layers/aspects of our identity and the selves that constitute it. To westerners, human selves unlike *taonga,* may be modified by their own reflexivity. Henare and Tapsell have both said however, that in the Māori world, *taonga* have a life of their own, their own *mana* and *mauri* deriving from the gods who are here with us (Henare et al. 2007: 54; Tapsell, 1997: 345**)** suggesting that for Māori their agency is not only human in origin (cf. Gell in Henare, 2007: 18), although *taonga* do 'contain' various relationships (op.cit, chapter 5). The archival records of Cook's 1773 encounters at Dusky Bay already described support this view.

What is 'real' for observers has real social outcomes for the observers themselves and society, and also informs the intersubjective engagement between themselves and others that contributes to ordinary discourse (ibid: 41). The efficacy of this engagement depends upon communication, body language and other actions, speech, exchange objects and forms of symbolism that are polyvocal. Cohen says, "it is by appropriating shared cultural forms in their individually distinct ways that individuals constitute their selves and their worlds" (1994: 116), and this allows members of a society to "express their attachment… without compromising their individuality" (Fuchs, 2000: 16). This also applies in cross-cultural situations. European and Māori often understood the symbolism of each other's transactions and transacted 'things' quite differently, but still managed the transactions because the polyvocality of people, things and actions, enabled some commonality between worlds to be established. Thus, for example, the red boat-cloak Cook gave to the chief at Dusky Bay was probably understood quite differently by the chief, for whom red was a sacred colour, whereas for Cook it was a British Naval colour and though it was the same physical cloak, it was symbolically different, inhabiting different cultural and spiritual worlds which were, at the moment of transaction, overlapping. The physical appearance enabled an *apparently* common and temporarily stabilised agreement to be established i.e. the cloak acted as a mediator in the transaction where language was deficient - which, as with language, does not mean that Cook and the chief understood it in the same way. What remains to be considered is how this concept of selves is related to identity and adaptive hybridity, whether this could be different for Māori than English people, and how the kind of agency suggested may be articulated.

Biographies are the stories of selves. They reveal identity-aspects of observer and observed. They always represent selective viewpoints. Sometimes they are therefore considered suspect as historical records. Phillips says that biographies "of the powerless or anonymous - working class people, women, subordinate ethnic groups… are impossible" (1985: 3). As suggested in chapter one, these criticisms could be aimed equally at biographies of the rich/powerful. O'Regan (see chapter one), Tau (2003) and Tau and Anderson (2008) say that every historical interpretation is politically positioned and written with a particular purpose - and this thesis is no exception. If any history is valid comment, then so is biography, as one view of the wider picture, and Māori historical scholars have reminded us of the importance to Māori identity of *whakapapa* and their associated stories (S. O'Regan, 1985: 42-50, Tau, 2003: 15-20; Tau and Anderson, 2008: 12-18), Wanhalla, 2004: 14). There is no effort made to represent a definitive truth, but different *iwi, hapu* and *whānau* groups may have versions, which "can be subjected to the same rigorous comparison as any other historical documents" (O'Regan op.cit.): "A Māori historical figure has different identities each 'true' in their own terms according to the people who are telling the story" (Phillips, 1985: 4-5). This applies to the role of myth in connecting Polynesian people to their land, natural environment and cosmological scheme, as explained in chapter two.

Sissons's case study amongst Ngāi Tuhoe provides strong support for the idea that for them "personal coherence is rooted in kinship" and that '*biographies of great leaders are also the histories of their kin-groups'* (1988: 25, 29, my emphasis), suggesting that personal identity is very closely entwined with their societal discourse of iwi and hapu identity[125]. Wanhalla considers that this is so for South Island Ngāi Tahu also (2004: 14). However, Perrett and Patterson argue that Māori ethics is agent-centred similar to the Aristotelian model, and is "fundamentally concerned with what sort of person one ought to be, what sort of life one ought to live, rather than what sort of acts one ought to perform". One should follow the example of virtuous people, such as ancestors/heroes, and hence *mana* could be increased by agentive actions that bring *mana* to the agent and his/her community (1991: 190-9)[126]. Perrett and Paterson's model seems to explain the constraints and opportunities available to Māori persons by following the ancestral and mythical figures upheld as exemplars of Māori personhood. The *mana* accruing to community via the self/person responsible for the action would usually involve risk-taking, entering new domains/situations, acting contingently and strategically, learning and adapting to achieve a favourable outcome. Having gained *mana* from the success, the

additional layer of *mana* contributes to overall identity and perhaps even to the community identity. It would be the same for the weapons, cloaks or other 'things' involved in the transaction. So we still have the layered or divided-yet-unitary-self of Strathern, whether we are talking about human selves or material 'things' in the Māori world:

> At the heart of this variability-within-culture is… the 'merographic' individual who seems to belong in different ways to different domains of social being, whose 'appearance' differs depending on the angle of one's vision… and whose aspects are distinguishable because they pertain to different domains. I am simultaneously an individual, and yet part of relationships; unique, but conventional; the product of my genetic endowment, but also of society…
> (cited in A. P Cohen, 1994: 153)

A different epistemology and ethical system informed the *actions* of European selves, as has been discussed at length in chapter three. However this does not preclude the possibility of their having (or having had in the past) a similar merographic configuration of selves. What remains to be investigated, is whether this may be true universally or only in some cultures, communities, or persons, and in some historical periods. Strathern's study of the village Elmdon, revealed some self perceptions in 1960's England, which yield some clues:

> … both as a pivot of personal genealogies, and as divided into discrete families…from which they can walk away… The image of a person as an individual… compels us to see wholes as made up of individual parts, centre persons integrating a plurality of individuals as fragments of multiple centerings… (1981: 25-6).

In this "Western sense of fragmented identity", people identify themselves and others by location, destination, geography and class. Shifting about disorients them, and the lives and identities of people and places need constant reorientation. Strathern compares this with Melanesia where aspects of peoples' identity may be situated in objects that can travel in lieu of them, and people's identities may "vary according to what they hold in their hands" (1991: 116-7). All cultures may possibly have the ability "to 're-shuffle identities' generating ever new associations of local and foreign elements" (Pottage, 2001: 125)[127]. It is suggested here that maybe the identities they shuffle are partial and merographic in the manner of Strathern's selves, whether it be after the Melanesian or English varieties.

During the early cross-cultural contacts period in Te Wai Pounamu major social transformations impacted upon the social systems of both Māori and Europeans. Tcherkézoff has said of such transformations - they "mark the passage from one period of identity to another… modify the system's rules for belonging", and hierarchies within the society are affected by the presence of people, things and practices which are foreign to

each 'other'" (2005: 246-7). Because of varying possible interpretations, translations and polyvocal symbolism, foreign 'things', practices and people may become incorporated into existing practices and hierarchies, as did Christianity in Samoa and New Zealand. However societies are made of selves and individuals who may also " do a host of other things which appear to be something else, because they are no longer explained by the hierarchy and sometimes run counter to it. We must pay close attention to these contexts, for they provide a ready entry for new elements and change" (Tcherkézoff op.cit: 248).

Some biographical material about particular selves and the individuals they comprise is now examined - Māori and *tauiwi* (foreigners) whose interactions and transactions reveal aspects of agency and identity in early Te Wai Pounamu. It seems that all four of those now described had some of the personal qualities to which E.P. Hohman attributes the success of American whalemen:

> Courage, hardihood, skill, thrift carried to the point of parsimony, shrewdness, stubborn perseverance, ingenuity, sturdy independence, a cold lack of squeamishness in driving bargains… (quoted in Grady, 1986: 58)

Like Cook, the American whalers also were raised in a Quaker environment. Similar attributes are supposed to have been possessed by the mythical ancestor Maui:

> … quick, intelligent, bold resourceful, cunning and fearless…
> (R.Walker, op.cit. 1990: 15)[128]

James Cook and 'others' at Dusky Bay

Although when he visited New Zealand in 1769, Cook was a Lieutenant in the British Navy, he was born into the lower classes. Some formative influences that could have contributed to his habitus as a navy officer, are discussed here with personality characteristics that influenced his identity and ability to negotiate between worlds of the workplace and cross-culturally.

Cook, born in 1728, the son of an illiterate Yorkshire farm labourer (Peake cited in McNab, 1914: 83), was sent to work at a young age as a crow-scarer and later apprentice at a haberdashery store in the fishing port of Staithes. As Newbolt stated, his subsequent career "proves that high birth, elaborate schooling or great opportunities are not the Sovran [sic] causes of distinction…" (1929: 98). Mr Skottowe, his father's employer sent James to the 'Postgate school for poor boys' in Great Ayton, from which he graduated to the store. Subsequently he became apprenticed to Captain John Walker, a respected Whitby Quaker ship owner, in whose attic he lived and who became a life-long friend. At sea on the East Coast colliers he learned about ships, and in winter studied navigation at Walker's home. At the age of 26, Walker offered him command of a ship, but instead

he joined the Royal Navy as a seaman, "to try what fortune would bring that way" (Beaglehole, in McGaw, 1971: 27-9). In the navy he was involved in warfare in the Channel, and in Canada, where he learned surveying. After five years he was appointed to command the *Endeavour*:

> He was an attentive and conscientious observer of men and things in his later life… these characteristics could not have newly sprung into being when he took command of … Endeavour… in Halifax harbour… [h]e saw men die of scurvy… ate naval diet… recorded the round of petty crimes… theft of stores… drunkenness… desertions … stabbing… sodomy… courtmartials… savage punishments… hangings… floggings round the fleet…
> (ibid: 31)

His early experience - the influence of a Quaker mentor, observations of injustice in the workplace, and the determination and personal discipline required in surveying unknown coastlines and commanding a ship affected his success. Cook properly reveals few personal feelings in his logs, so what did others say of him? Beaglehole quotes them:

> Cook had a "benevolent and humane disposition… patient and firm under difficulties and distress" (Samwell), "… submitted to every kind of self-denial" (King), "an able navigator… justly stiled [sic] father of his people from his good care and attention…"(Roberts), "a cross-grained fellow who sometimes showed a mean disposition… a hasty temper" (J.R.Forster), "… just and upright in all his dealings… scrupulously clean… fearless… had an instructive knowledge of how to deal with native peoples…" (Zimmermann)
> (1970:12-13)

Cook thus had some 'Quaker' characteristics - concern for others and what was true, right and responsible and he was a risk-taker, though not at a cost to the health of his men. He ate wild taro whose tops "we found made good greens… but the roots were so acrid that few besides myself could eat them" and insisted on eating fish that everyone said would poison him just after a similar incident had occurred. He believed so strongly in the benefits of fresh food over salt beef that he wanted his men to follow his example, because "the Moment they see their Superiors set Value on it, it becomes the finest stuff in the World…" (ibid: 16-17). He had been a subaltern on ships himself, knew their their capacity to perceive opportunities through observing their 'superiors'. He was innovative, and was permitted extra crew to enable three watches instead of seven, in order to rest the crew longer and "send shore parties out without stripping the ship of all its officers"[129]. He liked adventure and discovery and was unhappy being posted to Greenwich hospital, preferring instead to go on the third voyage. He took cognisance of his own *mana*:

> I know not what your opinion may be on this step I have taken. It is certain I have quitted an easy retirement for an active and perhaps dangerous voyage. My present disposition is more favourable to the latter… and I imbark on as fair a prospect as I can wish. If I am fortunate enough to get safe home there's no doubt but it will be greatly to my advantage
> (Cook to Capt. Walker 14/02/1776)

Cook liked challenges, and took calculated risks to succeed in them. His men describe him is as courageously walking into liminal situations and 'playing it by ear'. At Dusky Sound:

> … the Captn… fearless of danger, caused the boat's crew to put him on shore without a companion. The Indian came forward & saluted him by grasping him by the arms… He was accompanied by a young woman who held a kind of long spear in her hand full 18 feet long…
> (Marra, 6/4/73)

> … then he spoke seemingly with violence & threatened with his staff of honour, upon which he leaned. Capt. Cook went to the head of the boat & called him friend & threw him his handkerchief and gave him myne likewise…
> (J.R.Forster, 6/4/73)

> … Indians… shouted, & this determined the Capt to go and see them… The Capt & several people stripped their Shoes & stockings & waded up to them; they seemed displeased at the number of people… The Capt ordered them all at a distance… would not lay down their spears… with difficulty prevailed upon to stick them in the Ground. The Capt had a sheet white paper in his hand which he offered them…
> (J.R.Forster, 20/4/73)

It was this kind of risk-taking behaviour that Cook exhibited when he was killed at Hawaii, but his successes were numerous considering the intercultural understanding and negotiating skills gained. By this time, to the alarm of some of his Lieutenants, he had begun to perform some aspects of a new identity, although it is unlikely that he would have intended to advertise this at the meetings of the Royal Society, on returning to London:

> We were a little surprised at seeing Capt Cook in ye procession of the chiefs, with his hair hanging loose & his body naked down to ye waist; not a person being admitted covered above ye waist, or with his hair tyed; I do not pretend to dispute the propriety of Capt. Cook's conduct, but I cannot help thinking that he rather let himself down.
> (Williamson, quoted in Salmond, 2003: 348)[130]

It seems that different selves came to the fore situationally as Strathern said (1995: 25-7), and Cook's agency practiced between worlds and classes as a poor child, amongst his peers in the North Sea coal trade, and on board navy ships, facilitated these Pacific meetings and were built upon right up to his untimely death at Kealakekua Bay (see Figure 10)

Caddell and Tūhawaiki

When European sealing gangs began to impact upon the resources of Murihiku about 1800, Māori began to realise that seal-skins were valuable to Europeans, and gangs experienced attacks (Anderson, 1998: 65). Tūhawaiki's grandfather Honekai attacked some sealers from the *Sydney Cove* at Stewart Island in 1810, five men being killed. Sixteen- year-old James Caddell survived, under Honekai's *mana*. One story says that he touched the chief's *tapu* cloak, and thus became *tapu* and 'untouchable' himself, through

touching the cloak. Another says that Honekai's neice Tokitoki claimed him with her hat, " because she fancied him… Oh no, they would never have allowed him to touch the cloak…" (Hildebrand, pers comm.)[131], indicating the power of the hat. Although this touching of *tapu* objects is not about 'gifting', it is, like gift-giving', about transaction of 'spiritual substance' by contact with objects. Contact with the hat and the cloak, which in Maori terms would both be seen as having *mauri* in the same way as gifts do, might be understood by Mauss's idea of the *hau* of the gift being passed from giver via the gift to the recipient. The same could be true of *tapu* if it were not that both the cloak and the hat would have *mana* and *tapu* of their own, separate from that of their owners, because of their own prior trajectories and layers of dense meaning in the way that Weiner has described (1994: 394). Tokitoki may simply have claimed Caddell under her own *mana*, without the agency of any material thing being involved, in which case she could be considered as a bearer of *mana* and *tapu* in one of her identities[132].

Tūhawaiki, born about 1805, would then have been 5 years old. Caddell eventually married his cousin, became "very expert in war… with the gun War Axe and Spear" (Shepherd, 1826 in Howard, 1974: 363), was tattooed and became an integrated member of his tribe, even participating in raids on sealers. He spoke and behaved in such a Māori fashion, he is described as having almost forgotten his 'own' language, although his tribe "expected [him] to maintain regular contact with the Europeans beginning to appear in the tribal territory" (ibid: 159). In 1822 near Preservation inlet he went aboard the *Snapper*, as guide and interpreter to Captain Edwardson who was investigating the flax trade (de Blosseville 1826, in Howard, 1974: 50). Caddell returned to Sydney with Tokitoki, her brother Te Pai, Te Wera, his wife and child, to demonstrate the preparation of flax[133]. The women refused to travel without their husbands. (Anderson, 1998: 65-8; Ross, 1975. ATL. MS-papers-1500: 61). On their return Captain J. R. Kent of the *Mermaid* reported:

> I went onshore with James Caddell his wife and Jacky Snapper, who upon this occasion of revisiting their friends took care to display the liberality of the white people at Port Jackson by dressing themselves in their best apparel. We were received by them all sitting and after the salutation of touching noses, they eagerly enquired for what purpose we had come. I told them (through the interpretation of Caddell) we had come for the purpose of supplying them with tools and various other articles for which we would take in return flax in the manufactured state; they seemed much pleased at this calling out to some friends at a distance (… e [b]ola ho tena)… this vessel is for trade.
> (Kent, 18/06/1823 in Howard, 1974: 345)[134]

Like Caddell, Tūhawaiki was born into interesting times. He knew a pākehā as one of his boyhood relatives. In 1827 Boultbee met him at Clutha river, where they "fell in with

a canoe full of men who had also left the settlement to board [a small schooner they had both spotted]… This canoe was steered by the Chief Tuavike… his voice, shape, height and size were the same [as Tarbuka]…". Since Boultbee admired Whakataupuka, as "a most complete model of strength activity and elegance…" and "active… lively… prepossessing [with]… a quick intelligent mind", this is praise indeed (in Starke, 1986: 80, 90). Missionaries took a different, more critical viewpoint of Tūhawaiki's proactive stance and that of his people in attaining European skills and goods:

> The chief called "Bloody Jack" is here but he is brutalised by the intercourse he has with our respectable countrymen, he however told me if a European missionary were stationed at his place the people would attend to his instructions… This day I received a note from him written on slate by one of the natives… requesting "a bottle of Brandy"! ... I have many written applications now a days for articles for the Māories are famous beggars… Books are in great demand… paper pens ink and slates. The other day a native offered me half a crown for a slate…
> (Watkin, missionary, 4/06/1842)

Regarding this comment, it should be noted that Selwyn says disapprovingly that rum was "kept for the use of his English sailors and for sale to whalers" (quoted in Hall-Jones, 1943: 87). Additionally, Haberfield said that although men were paid with rum, the Māori women bottled it off for sale to Europeans! (cited in Richards, 1995b: 119-20). Descriptions by other European contemporary observers describe Tūhawaiki as: well-mannered at table, considerate and hospitable, trustworthy, of high integrity, entrepreneurial, shrewd, straightforward, highly intelligent, brave resourceful, a capable English-speaker, and a warrior of considerable prowess (in Hall-Jones, 1943: 3-4). Olssen reports that Tūhawaiki[135] "adopted a threefold strategy for coping with the new world; development of skills… peaceful integration of these two worlds on terms acceptable to the Māori… [and] the power of the Pākehā atua [god]" (1984: 25).

Tūhawaiki succeeded 'paramount chief' Whakataupuka, and Anderson compares him with his relatives - Karetai, who was "steady… quiet and dignified", and Taiaroa who was "perceptive… suspicious and truculent… upon whom the greater burden fell"[136]. Tūhawaiki took risks, was an opportunistic negotiator, having the ability to scaffold new ideas, information and behaviour, to enable a new flexibility for the 'net of Tahu' as the tide was shifting. Like Taiaroa, Tūhawaiki had worked as a harpooner, been steersman of a whale-boat (Olssen, 1984: 16), and with Topi Patuki purchased the schooner *Perseverence.* With two English and three Māori crew, they successfully raced whaler Tommy Chaseland[137] and Shortland, from Aparima to Ruapuke (ibid: 83-4). Paybooks from Hempleman's whaling station at Peraki show the Māori whaling crew including Taiaroa and Tūhawaiki, though they belonged to the physically élite 'headsmen'

harpooners, were paid less than the Europeans (Hemplemann, ATL. MS-Papers-0067). From the European viewpoint they were relative commoners, and as with *lascars* on sealing boats, received less pay. Their agency though, involved more than what their indigenous cultural training and life experience provided - they also displayed the admired personal characteristics of their 'ancestor' Maui and used deliberate agentive contingent behaviour as well.

(Erihapeti) Patahi

Until recently, substantiated stories of the Māori wives of European sailors, whalers and sealers were elusive. However, Ngāi Tahu historians are revisiting old texts, combining them with insights from oral histories, and it is now easier to 'put flesh on the bones' of European accounts. Tau and Anderson's interpretation of the Carrington texts and series of Ngāi Tahu/Kati Māmoe *whakapapa* (2008) and Wanhalla's investigation of women connected with the Maitapapa settlement in Otago (2004, 2008) have been particularly useful in this interpretion of agency and identity in cultural change.

I therefore describe aspects of the personality and habitus of Patahi, who was the wife of Otakou-Preservation Inlet whaler Edwin (Ned) Palmer between the years c.1828 - 1840. He then abandoned her, took their daughters and married a Scotswoman who arrived with the Scottish Free Church settlement (Wanhalla, 2008: 45-48). Aged about 16 years when she declared her interest in Palmer, Patahi was being sought as the wife of Tūhawaiki, but insisted, against the wishes of her relatives, on forming a relationship with Palmer (ibid: 35-6). They lived briefly aboard his ship before building a house ashore, where she bore their two daughters Elizabeth and Jane[138]. After her abandonment she saw them only once, because Palmer forbade it (Hanning, 2000: 1-5). She was devastated and parts of her story remain as told more than 20 years later to William Martin, through the mediation and interpretation of a Māori lay preacher at a goldmining camp at Taramakau:

> … and by and by he say he no married to me like white people then he say he married to white woman and he come for the children, he take them a way from me. I very angry and make long cry, the Māori say me no good better you had married Bloody Jack [Tūhawaiki]. About a year after Toby a Māori he take me for his wife, but many times I cry.
> (Patahi to Martin, quoted in Wanhalla, 2008: 46)

It is clear from her subsequent life, that Patahi was resilient. She went with Toby to Horomaka (Banks Peninsula), was baptized at All Saints church Lyttelton in 1851 and after Toby's death at Akaroa, married "Haimona Tuangau of Hawkes Bay, the Māori Catechist for… Port Levy district" (ibid: 46; Hanning, 2000: 5-7), with whom she went goldmining at Greenstone beside the Taramakau River, Te Tai Poutini. Patahi died in

1887, having lived a long and varied life. She had learned to speak "fairly good English" (Martin, in Wanhalla, 2008: 37), been to Sydney, saved Palmer's life in a shipwreck (Hanning, 2000: 1-7) and bore his children.

In contrast to the pathos of this story, Patahi was 'well-connected' as Tūhawaiki's desire to marry her indicates. Of Ngāi Tahu and Kati Māmoe descent through her *tipuna* Turakautahi and Hinekakai respectively, she was the niece of the Ngāi Tahu chief Kaioneone. These relationships connected her to other *hapu* throughout Te Wai Pounamu - including Taumutu, at that time a village of Ngati Kaweriri, (a *hapu* of Tuahuriri) and Ngāti Ruahikihiki; also to Kaiapoi and Ngāi Kaipō and Kāti Māhaki at Te Tai Poutini (Tau and Anderson, 2008: 162, 218; Austin et. al. 2005: 24; Wanhalla, 2008: 44). Whilst Patahi's relationship with Palmer was disapproved of, the localities where she later lived suggest that she utilised wider *iwi* connections and her initiative to survive in new situations such as goldmining, living to 81 years of age. She used indigenous socio-cultural capital, *and showed agency* indicated by the way she described her personality - running away from home, staying on a ship with someone her parents disapproved of, not enhancing their *mana* by agreeing to a different partner, alienating herself from her immediate *whānau* (family) (Wanhalla, 2008: 35), and exercising deliberate choice (cf., Giddens, 1990: 308). Her self-hood and identity were not only shaped by the norms of her society - she used her own agency to create her own alliance, separate from the one her relatives had envisaged (Wanhalla, 2008: 45). Like Māui, she too was a risk-taker in the physical as well as the emotional sense, her choices being influenced by her cultural background and by engaging with new ideas and practices - learning new skills and acting contingently. Wanhalla says she "is a strong character, defined by being unruly and determined who defied her community's expectations of her status…" and that her story indicates "the power of a woman of status… when it came to a decision to marry" (ibid: 51). However, her life trajectory shows that despite the emotional turmoil it must have caused, her positive agency remained even after that relationship ceased. I have no intention to denigrate in any way Wanhalla's assertions regarding the serious negative effects of colonialism upon Ngāi Tahu *whānui*, especially its women. Yet if we examine the case of Patahi and her contemporaries from the subaltern perspective, other aspects of agency come into play. To do this, we must examine in a different way the social environment she was living in.

Anderson says " [t]he structure of Ngāi Tahu Society was that of a chiefdom where each individual's place depended upon proximity to direct lines of succession…" He

adds: “Chiefs seldom laboured or carried anything common on their backs… men in general were loath to carry anything on their backs” [and that] “ chiefly women could not be coerced in marriage or labour… Traditionally commoner women gathered shellfish, flax and other resources and laboured in the gardens” (1998: 91-92).

These situations were relative - *relative* rank to others made one subaltern with respect to those above and superior to those below, and this was *situational* also, especially when new people and things entered the social arena. It applied to Europeans also. Some occupations were viewed as more prestigious in the Māori world than they were in the European world *and* vice versa. This complication made interactions between worlds difficult to negotiate and perceptions of what was *new* would also have been a factor, especially for the young people. There were worlds of social class within each society to be negotiated between, and the inter-cultural/cross cultural world in motion, which encompassed other ‘worlds’ - economic, civic and so on, together with their differing orders of worth to be negotiated that introduced further uncertainty[139]. The records indicate that the idea of chiefly women and chiefs not doing menial work did not hold universally at that time. The ‘judgements of worth’ were being reconfigured within and between these newly emergent worlds:

> …The white men of Stewart Island live in a tolerably comfortable manner without much sweat off their brow. They have good substantial cottages which are kept in a very tidy state by their Māori wives and an abundance of pigs, potatoes and poultry…
> (Monro 1844 in Richards, 1995a: 91)
>
> Cultivation of potatoes and pig breeding is a sideline looked after mainly by the Māori women.
> (Wohlers MS, 1845, ibid: 82)
>
> Captain Fowler [Matilda, 1813] informed the chief Papuee of the state of his people… the chief… himself [went] to their assistance… he noticed the running rigging to be in a decayed state and [voluntarily] sat down on deck with a number of his people, men and women and commenced rope making after the manner of the country…
> (Sydney Gazette report in McNab, 1909: 215-6)

It is suggested that the ‘mechanism’ of agency includes the approach actors have to new emerging ‘worlds’, and the role of emotions, and adolescent peer pressure in these situations needs consideration. Giddens idea that agency involves choice and reflexivity (1990: 308) applies in this scenario and choice is applied contingently. Wanhalla says that 140 non-Māori men have been “identified by Anderson who formed unions with Ngāi Tahu women [sic]” (2008: 47) and the women involved “had good kinship connections” (ibid: 39)[140], giving their husbands access to resources and protection. A greater number of Māori women were involved in these relationships, for many men re-married when their first wives died. Joseph Davis for example “had a family by Tapui before he married

Whakātipi…" (Beattie, HL. MSS-582/G/9:3). It was therefore not an unusual thing for the women to do this - their peers did also. Many like Patahi were quite young, and it seems likely that the enthusiasm of emotionally charged young people for new ideas, technologies and people, and their tendency to subvert tradition and take risks, affecting their personal relationships has been underestimated. Furthermore, it is likely that as with their modern descendants who enjoy cell phones and designer clothing, they had a different perception of what 'gaining *mana*' entails, seeking peer approval as much as the approval of other relatives. They could thus be seen as reconfiguring the contemporary cultural schemas of the previous generation (cf. Ortner, 1990: 93). Relatively speaking, despite their rank, and because of their age, they were 'inferior' with respect to their parents and older siblings, yet they had agency. They chose to do other than the conventional thing[141]. Most of these womens' partners were whalers, the majority not regarded in their own communities as high ranking - they were subalterns too - opportunistic, making choices and scaffolding new knowledge - some of it Māori knowledge. Yet some, like the ill-tempered Edwin Palmer from the convict settlement at Port Jackson considered his Māori wife to be lower ranking than himself, as the circumstances of his abandonment of her show. Others like Edward Weller apparently thought that wives should be treated equally to themselves (cf. Howard, 1974: 91. op. cit.). Both Patahi and Teanau are described as having status amongst Ngāi Tahu, yet one only was treated as being of lower status than her husband. Like Caddell's 'high-born' wife Tokitoki, both acted agentively by not conforming with what Anderson describes as the cultural norms for women of their status - they married Europeans, doing housework, gardening, and preparing flax. Patahi's 'half-caste' daughters subsequently embodied this hybrid behaviour, genetically and performatively, producing a flow-on agentive effect in their "high-status marriages". Marriage was "an assimilatory tool" used by Ngāi Tahu, and became a means of social control in colonial times (ibid: 48), but in the long term, has formed persons with more complex multiple identities and enhanced agency who can cross readily, social boundaries of all kinds, and walk between worlds as Tahu Pōtiki has said (2008 : A 13). The role of 'things' as well as people in the formation of adaptive hybrid identities is now described.

Summary

In this chapter the role in cultural and identity change of the individual and collective agency of subalterns has been explored. Latourian Actor-network method, combined with

Strathern's viewpoint that 'things' can be regarded as condensed networks of relationships, and Boltanski and Thévenot's 'worlds' between which relationships must be negotiated and mediated, have been used to expose to view subalterns and things with which they act. A whaling harpoon has been traced through changing networks of social assemblages in which it has been an actant, to expose to view other members of these assemblages including subaltern people and their behaviours. Some aspects of the self have been explored, primarily using the approach of A.P.Cohen[142] and of Marilyn Strathern, who describes people as having multiple selves each acting reflexively, deliberately and agentively and situationally (op.cit.). Case studies of Captain Cook, Chief Tūhawaiki, sealer Caddell and whaler's wife Patahi have been used to illustrate how subalternity affected their lives and identity-formation, where young people involved in inter-generational change perceive and interpret cultural schemas differently and are risk takers with 'new' things and activities. Following Tcherkézoff, it is suggested that social hierarchies may be disrupted by foreign influences, and the agentive abilities and activities of subalterns may be a contributing factor to social change.

The following chapter provides suggestions about how the transaction of knowledge might occur both intra and inter-culturally, how this is related to the adaptive formation of hybrid selves, the role that material things play in this and what the archives describe of the process.

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[112] Life principle.

[113] Elder's.

[114] Cf. T.O'Regan op cit. chapter two.

[115] the Māori language.

[116] K. Hildebrand pers comm.

[117] Crew list: www.mariners.records.nsw.gov.au/1859/12.

[118] B. Hildebrand pers. comm.

[119] "The Neck".

[120] Topi Patuki subsequently became the successor of Chief Tūhawaiki described later. (Wohlers, in Richards, 1995: 85).

[121] Milford Sound.

[122] Ngāi Tahu for Grandfather.

[123] B & K Hildebrand & J. Anglem pers. comm.

[124] [I]dentity has to be seen as a social project" [ibid: 12] and "individuals make their worlds" (A.P.Cohen, 1994: 115).

[125] Jeff Sissons describes four domains of discourse: relations between local *hapu*, relationships between *whānau*, stories about the prophets, and personal reminiscence (1988:22-23). The latter two contain elements of what Tau calls *purākau* (ancestral stories/ deeds/ legends) and *pakiwaitara* (fiction/ folklore/stories told for entertainment) respectively (2003:7). Sometimes one type of story becomes transformed into another. For example, where a personal experience became invested with *tapu* significance because of association with sacred persons such as the prophet Rua Kenana, and with spiritual experiences such as dreams, which can have an agency of their own:

I've never been up that mountain myself, only my dream has been up there, and that's how I know everything up there...

The speaker's 'identity [was] … tied to the *mana* of Maungapōhatu [her mountain] and Rua, so that their history became an extension of her own. For this reason, the "kinship 'I'" seems to be a reality for Māori -the '*biographies of great leaders are also the histories of their kin-groups* (ibid: 25, 29, my emphasis). For Māori at least, it seems unlikely that the 'true' self can be as Rousseau described- ' under[neath] the layers of social contrivance' (Davis, 1985:17), but is essentially social and layered or multiple as well as unitary in the manner described by Strathern (in A.P.Cohen, 1994:131).

[126] Following the example of ancestral exemplars would ensure the perpetuation of "a moral community where self-identification and growth take place" (1991:190-7). However this does not mean that the community is a static homogeneous society, because Māori leadership could be attained in two ways - by inherited *mana*, and by agentive actions that bring *mana* to the agent and his/her community. The example is given of the low born fighting chief Te Rauparaha, who gained considerable *mana* by his actions (ibid: 199). Equally, one could quote Te Rauparaha's mortal enemies Tūhawaiki, Taiaroa and Karetai who *were* of noble birth but also *gained mana* by their actions.

[127] Clifford described this for the Trobriand cricketers in Leach and Kildea's film (Pottage, 2001:125; Clifford, 1988:148).

[128] Although Māui has become a demi-god, it is noteworthy that like most whalers, he too began life from a disadvantaged position and was relatively speaking, of lower status. He was the *pōtiki* (youngest) and had to compete for survival amongst his brothers by using his wits in a hierarchical society where he was disadvantaged in the power stakes. He had the capacity to change shape and become a bird such as a *Kererū* (pigeon) or *Kāhu* (hawk) using it to get close enough to the action, and work out what was going on in different situations (cited in Tikao, 1939: 14 -17) - a metaphor for his multiple identity and personal agency perhaps?

[129] See George Forster (2007) *Cook, The Discoverer*, Hordern House. Book review by Richard Hindle in Cook's Log, Vol.30, No 4: 43. Online at www.captaincooksociety.com/ccsu2113.htm

[130] …Oree and I were professed friends in all the forms of customary among them and he had no idea that this could be broke by the act of any other person…his words were to this effect: Oree (for so I was always calld) and I are friends, I have done nothing to forfeit his friendship, why should I not go with him? (Cook, in Salmond, 2003: 207).

[131] Cf. Richards (1995: 21).

[132] much as Marilyn Strathern's Hagener women are "tradestores".

[133] It is possible that Tūhawaiki is the "Jacky Snapper" who went with them.

[134] One assumes that the 'best apparel' referred to are European clothes, being a display of 'the liberality' of the people at Sydney. 'Jacky Snapper' was later known to enjoy wearing European military uniforms (Ohlssen, 1984:23).

[135] like his uncle Te Whakataupuka.

[136] concerning injustices of the land deals supported by Tūhawaiki (Anderson, 2000: 206). His first land sale was to William Andrew 'Anglim' at Patterson's River in January 1836 (Hall-Jones, 1945: 51).

[137]Chaseland was a 'half-caste' Australian aboriginal whaler. Shortland was a government agent.

[138] (Peti/Betsy) and (Jeannie/Heni/Tini).

[139] cf. Boltanski &Thévenot (1999: 149).

[140] Not all Māori wives were "well connected". Māta Kukae, a commoner born in Otago circa 1796 was given to a sailor by her father at 16 years "in exchange for… a tomahawk and a… [quid] of tobacco (Rapley, 1986: 29-30). See also Gray in Steedman (op.cit.): "Sometimes the Senior lines are… manipulated so that everyone becomes a Chief. There are no commoners".

[141] This may explain the interest shown by Māori women in Captain Worth's wife and her 'things' (op. cit.) - they were curious, tempted, perhaps seeking to learn something, and acting accordingly?

[142] Social institutions consist of groups of selves who see themselves in one way and are also seen and interpreted by others.

Figure 10. “New Zealand Man in Cook Strait” (2007), Acrylic on canvas, 255 x 255mm, Original, Private collection. Image Courtesy of Michel Tuffery. Ref: www.micheltuffery.co.nz
Captain Cook at Queen Charlotte Sound.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions: Transaction & Adaptive Hybridity

> Although I was young, I was in charge of the boat, and I'd have a Māori mate fifty-five, sixty years-old, but he was the boy in the boat… but [they] taught me how to handle bad weather… he says "Now you try and do that"… I learnt from their experience… that way I was reasonably decent at sea
> (Syd. Cormack, fisherman, 1997: 71)

A possible model for understanding the adaptive formation of hybrid selves is suggested in this chapter. It is informed by the multiperspectival approach used throughout this thesis, including theoretical viewpoints of subalternity and 'history from below', a window through which the archive's actors have been viewed. The ethnohistorical methodology developed by Dening, Douglas and Tcherkézoff (op.cit.) has been used, and has involved close reading of archival documents supplemented by contemporary and recent ethnographic interpretations of continuing Māori customary practices together with fieldwork investigations along the same lines as Tcherkézoff has done for the Samoa.

The contextual background of the actors in the archive has been interrogated by a brief investigation of the historical political, epistemological and cosmological aspects that may have influenced Māori and Europeans of higher and lower ranks as they interacted and transacted things during those early meetings. Their different visions and experiences of the physical environment of Aotearoa-New Zealand and their relationships with it were described in chapter two. For Māori, land and sea were social actors tied into the Māori cosmological scheme and perceived as having supernatural power originating from the ancestor-gods. They were in a relationship with these forces and resources that formed an integral part of their cultural schemas in the way that Ortner has described (op.cit.).

The influence on mariners of some streams of Enlightenment thought prevalent in Georgian England - the unemployment environment, issues of slavery, savagery, poverty and religious dissent, 'improvement', education and scientific classification, 'noble savages' and 'utopian islands' were described in chapter three. They all provide insights into the thinking that informed the sailors lives, influenced their worldviews and the way they acted and interpreted 'others' aboard ship in the Pacific. Some 'others' were European captains and officers, and I claim that their "interactions across social divides"

(Munck, op.cit.) within their own culture, influenced and facilitated their inter-ethnic interactions also.

How Māori and Europeans behaved towards each other and what 'things' they transacted during the early encounters, together with some of the outcomes of the interactions was examined in chapter four. Fear and danger, 'theft', ignorance of each other's languages, worlds[143], conceptions of ownership and systems of reciprocity, were implicated in all the incidences of violence reported in the sailors' journals. These are clarified in terms of contemporary ethnographic and scholastic understandings of *utu* and *mana* and their embeddedness in Māori epistemology. Through careful reading and particular attention to what subaltern crew members said of these interactions it is clear that by taking risks and acting contingently they learned about the life-worlds of Māori. The longer they were here and the more interactions they had, the better adapted they became - their selves changed. Sealers and whalers were here for longer periods and though more suited by personality type and life experience to crossing intercultural boundaries, they also had more opportunities, as John Boultbee's case has shown. How this can happen was described in chapter four.

Chapter five described ordinary exchange-items - fish, fishing equipment, iron, skills and knowledge. I have suggested that these were obtained less formally; sometimes just by 'being there'. They were easily understood by both parties because for ordinary 'everyday' items there was greater commonality between worlds than there was for prestige objects, because they involved the basics of life. Some objects transacted between chiefs and captains were more polyvocal and seen by Māori as having agency of their own. These objects like fine cloaks and *pounamu*[144] objects were made of natural products, contained the *mana* of their makers and owners, ancestors and gods. They were often *tapu* and associated with prestige, beauty, and power because they *embodied the relationships* of their donors. Their resulting agency and agentive force from a Māori epistemological world-view have been described by Salmond and Tapsell. It is unlikely that Cook or Banks understood either their layers of meaning, or that Māori could have seen European cloaks as similar. On the other hand, Caddell learned from personal experience to interpret these cloaks from a Maori epistemological viewpoint after being saved by the *mana* of one with which he had interacted, and which eventually contributed to the formation of his 'pākehā māori' identity.

Chapter six described how some objects at some times accumulate layers of identity that could perhaps be equated with the dividual selves that Strathern describes (op.cit.).

They could enhance the agency of persons or in the Māori world may have agency of their own as Henare suggests (op.cit.). Additionally, I have attempted through Latourian Actor- network method, to expose subaltern sociality by tracing a whaling harpoon used by subalterns and their 'others' through its socio-historical trajectories and transformations in time and space. It is clear that subaltern people and things involved in the early Māori-European interactions in Te Wai Pounamu-Rakiura had much in common between their worlds - more than for people of higher ranks. Boltanski and Thévenot's idea that negotiations between worlds of significance and worth require temporarily stable referents which objects may provide, has been used to show that the harpoon, which meant different things to different people in different times and places, was still seen by everyone as a piece of whale-hunting equipment that for each, inhabited one of their worlds. These commonalities are seen as having contributed to successful interactions between sub-cultures (subaltern-'others') and between cultures (Māori-European). Interactions were accompanied by the development of personal hybridity for sailors, captains, chiefs, commoners, Māori and Europeans, and this current chapter includes a model of how the development of personal hybridity might be understood.

The previous chapter introduced the issue of hybridity using Strathern's and Cohen's ideas of the self and self-consciousness, and Ahearn's and Giddens' interpretations of human agency, applying them to the four historical figures Cook, Tūhawaiki, and subalterns Caddell and Patahi. This concluding chapter builds upon these interpretations and examines how the development of multiple identities might occur for people and things during interpersonal encounters, communications and transactions - the level where most transactional communication occurs.

This thesis has therefore utilised the multiperspectival theoretical approaches of 'history from below, subaltern studies, gifting and exchange, self and identity, and now the application of situated action theory provides insight into the outcomes of the early encounters that have been described. The final question being examined here is *how* knowledge accretion may contribute to development of multiple selves *within and between* cultures - how knowledge is scaffolded using behavioural and material-object cues, used situationally. The self- consciousness model suggested here, draws on Hendriks-Jansen's (1996) and Johnston's (2001) investigations into artificial intelligence. It describes a mechanism for development of individual hybridity that could, through personal interaction accumulate in *small* societies[145] such as that of Murihiku whalers, sealers and Māori, where experiences enter the general habitus and trajectory of the group

through common practice and discourse, hence becoming incorporated in the cultural schemas.

The late Syd Cormack, respected *kaumātua* and fisherman quoted at the beginning of this chapter did not speak Māori, but spent many of his 'retirement' years researching Ngāi Tahu-Kāti Māmoe *whakapapa*, assisting people with their land rights. He upheld the traditions of practical contingent behaviour and cross-cultural learning displayed by his maternal great-grandfather, whaler William Isaac Haberfield and great-grandmother Tete, and his Māori-speaking Scottish father Alexander Mouat Cormack, who told him Māori stories at bed-time. He embodied and practised the agentive behaviours displayed by his ancestors on both sides, but there were 'things' as well as people involved - the land, the sea, boats and fish.

How then, does agency actually *connect* people with their natural and social environments, and how might this be theorised in order to explain identity change and cultural hybridity? The view of agency adopted here contains the "socially mediated capacity to act" of Ahearn (2001: 112) and the "reflexive monitoring of action" described by Giddens (1984: pvx; 1990: 299) that may be tacit, not necessarily intentional but does not explain the *spontaneous* intentional actions seen in the archival material, nor *how* identity changes of persons or society happen. The mechanism is suggested but not explained. The term 'agentive' (Ahearn, op.cit.) refers to the actions that actors might take which express their agency. From a western viewpoint actors may be human, in which case reflexivity is possible, but agency is not possible for 'things', although they may have derivative agency by virtue of their association with humans who imbue them with various symbolic meanings and properties[146].

Hendricks-Jansen and Johnston describe models that do help explain intentional agency, and how objects are connected to humans in actant assemblages with their own agency, as is suggested for the 'Anglem' harpoon. Johnston emphasises the active role of the environment when situated actors respond to threatening situations. For example:

> Just as the agent responds to aspects of its environment with certain routine actions, so the situation changes in response to the agent's actions… each action alters the agent's situation… how… is … as much due to the structure of the environment as the set of response rules applied by the agent (Johnston, 2001: 235)

Thus, both the physical and social environments effectively change the situational response of the agent. Included in the physical environment of cross-cultural interaction are land, sea, weather conditions, objects, clothes, weapons and other 'things' being displayed/used/transacted and 'there' at the time. For Cook at Dusky Bay it includes

astronomer's tents, armourer's forge, fishing nets, brewery etc. Any or all could be implicated in what happens - in the agency of the human actors (ibid: 238). The actions of 'other' actors also may be constraining or facilitating. Power relations between themselves and 'others' are 'sensed through the consequences of actions'. However actors individually or as a group, can break rules if they choose as Giddens has said (ibid: 236; Giddens, 1990: 308; cf. Tcherkézoff, 2004: 248). They can use deliberative action including using tools and/or their symbolic meanings which enhance their own agency.

Any adaptive hybridity is achieved through communication and reflexive practice, because through communication we learn, develop skills, form relationships and transmit ideas. A mechanism for *how* this happens is proposed by Hendriks-Jansen:

> … language and culture help shape, constrain and sustain human action… [by constructing and negotiating] meaning… in interaction between persons and [constituting]… their standard practices with artifacts and tools
> (1996: xi).

This aspect of *how* appears to be absent from previous accounts about what agency does but is essential for understanding how *things* contribute to human agency. Hendriks-Jansen sees that "meaning emerges in dynamic interactions" (ibid.12). This understanding derives from studies of the adaptive response behaviour of infants to their mothers, which is found to be only temporarily stable, changing with the stage of development, and situation/task (ibid: 13). We understand our behaviour and that of 'others' through reflexive consideration of situated behaviour we observe and experience, and how people conceptualise things by deploying concepts in various situations (ibid: 14). Conversely, 'things' and how they are used can aid in the articulation of concepts - they *mediate* between those who use them and those who observe their use. Learning is then scaffolded onto the framework of current knowledge, rehearsed, corrected, and we then recognise proficiency when skills are embodied. Behavioural patterns become polysemic to the actor him/herself, transposable and able to be re-configured, not always consciously. They are emergent (ibid: 309-317). Thus experts 'go on automatic' when following rituals/ customs/*kawa* and may not be able to describe them, even though they 'do' them. In contrast, learners (and subalterns) need to think about their actions, and hence their descriptions may be more informative about conscious knowing of 'how' and 'why' (ibid: 318). This is one reason why subaltern's archival reports may reveal more than those of their 'superiors', as the archival material examined here has shown. What appears (and would be) deliberate behaviour and notable for them is actually embodied behaviour for 'others'.

So what role do 'things' such as language, rules, images and other artefacts including tools and weapons used intentionally have? They, also, provide us with opportunities for further scaffolding and "interactively emergent concepts that did not exist prior to the performance of a novel skill [can] be picked out [and] used in further scaffolding…" (ibid: 319). In the absence of language, objects and their use can speak for the actors. In the context being considered here the increasing *language* facility of Māori *and* European actors then *increased* the chance for effective scaffolding to occur, and for new skills and activity patterns to emerge:

> ... It must also be remembered that in the settlements which are termed European, the wives of the settlers are almost all New Zealanders. They deserve however to be put on a level with European women, for they are much above their countrywomen; their minds having been much enlarged by new ideas. Speaking generally… they keep their cottages, children and furniture clean and neat… all the old native customs and superstitions are abolished, except among a few aged persons who still believe in them
> ("W" 1847, in Richards, 1995a: 89)

Tauiwi used Māori language and practices strategically also. *Lascars* had always been subalterns on ships. For them it was probably easier, and they also taught Māori subversive strategies and techniques for dealing with Europeans:

> One of the local men is a lascar from Calcutta who came to New Zealand thirty years ago in an English ship and remained among the natives. He has had his face tattooed and in his whole way of life has become a New Zealander.
> (Wohlers MS. 1846, in Richards, 1995a: 101)

William Haberfield who arrived at Otakou in 1836 described how they learnt from Māori to: "… live on fish… kakas and pigeons… for vegetable to fall back on fern root", and how they deliberately had Māori as half their crew because "if the worst came to the worst, we had them with us don't you see?" (Olssen, 1984: 18).

> … what the whalers did, and what they brought home were not just material things. Yes they brought home tattoo-ing, and we also think variants of umu earth ovens too but they also brought home intangible things like new concepts, new ideas and new ways of thinking. For one example think of the concept of a taboo, originally Polynesian but now in use world-wide. The whalemen brought home new ways of looking and thinking about their personal lives…
> (R & M Richards, 2000: 10)

These people cannot have completely forgotten the 'selves' they possessed/ used in former lives. They and their associated potential-for-action remained available for contingent activation in new and emergent circumstances. The more worlds they had lived in, the more this would be so. Material and other 'things' such as knowledge and skills were used in scaffolding knowledge about the 'other', and also about the self, since selves, through reflexivity, include the view of 'others' about them. Wherever there is

interaction between worlds it is inevitable that hybridity will emerge by the accretion of new images of self.

When *iwi* traded with *each other* in pre-European times the same situated activity took place. Women intermarried with other *iwi*, forming alliances and taking with them their unique weaving skills. They wove hybrid cloaks with techniques brought from their local territories and patterns from their new homes. When men obtained iron nails from European sailors they made hybrid fish hooks with iron barbs, paua lures and flax lines. They wore European sailors clothes, used pieces of china for personal adornment and adopted a Christian god. The conceptual scaffolding of these new ideas during the situated activity did not erase or dilute former ideas, but increased the number of domains or worlds where they could operate their lives as more complex persons, with extra/more complex selves (cf. Strathern,1991). Hybridity was not new for *anyone*. Hau'ofa said: "Our cultures have always been hybrid and hybridising" (op.cit. chapter one). It seems to be the same for Europeans who visited and those who stayed, as the cases of Cook, Boultbee and Caddell illustrate.Persons with boundary-crossing skills from their previous experience of subalternity were more alert to nuances of behaviour and cultural difference and able to use this in cross-cultural situations to scaffold new ideas. They, together with Tūhawaiki and Patahi are some of those who developed hybrid selves and through their interactions with 'others' helped develop hybrid protocols that changed the way their societies 'did' and understood things:

> During the 'forties the Māori method of selling potatoes was to place them in flax baskets each containing from sixty to eighty pounds. The baskets were arranged in a row close together, and the price demanded was a piece of bright-coloured print that would reach the entire length of the row…
> (James Hay, 1915: 38-9)

This appears to be a variation on a system reported for Otakou, where a quid of tobacco was placed upon each *kete* (Bathgate, 1969: 256). Both seem to represent variations on the presentation of baskets at Māori feasts described by Polack (1840, Vol.1: 102) and evidence of the establishment of a system of equivalent worth between Māori and European economic worlds - a hybrid way of doing things.

Through following the trajectory of the 'Anglem' harpoon, subaltern players and how they acted became more visible. They were carpenters, coopers, harpooners, ship's boys, *lascars*, and Māori commoners including the Māori women they 'married'. Some were Captains and Chiefs, but having experienced subalternity *within one* of the cultures they lived/worked in could "stride the divide" *between* as Tahu Pōtiki has stated (2008: A 13).

Many contributed to the gene pool and culture of modern Ngāi Tahu-Kāti Māmoe, by raising a generation of Māori-Pākeha bicultural children with multiple selves able to live in both worlds. Binney and Chaplin have recorded how it felt for Te Akakura Rua who was a product of this kind of social situation:

> My father brought me up well. And the Mission did too. In the Pākehā way. He in the Māori way. It worked together. It did. 'Cos I judged it for myself. My husband knows what I'm like. I can be white-Pākehā way - and I can be a Māori. When I get in with my people I'll always be a Māori. I told him that. I said "No. I'm Māori. And I'll be a Māori when I'm with them. When I'm with you I might be a Pākehā…
> (Te Akakura Rua, quoted in Binney & Chaplin 1986: 183)

Te Akakura had a different self for each world. One did not dilute or assimilate the other. They existed together contemporaneously as part of the cultural toolkit used and adjusted situationally, interactively and appropriately. By examining individual cases I have shown that the accretion of cross-cultural ideas has been a result of deliberate agency as well as diffusion for Māori and for Europeans. Also significant are the emergent effects: "socialised (widely disseminated and culturally valued) ideas can congeal into discernible knots or currents, without deliberate artifice or conspiracy" (Belich, 1997: 9), and thus contribute to wider discourses that inform our selves and hence our identities. For descendants the same identity issues persist. In his memoirs[147] Syd. Cormack "… talks [at times] of his Māori relations as 'them' and at other times as 'us'… he [explains] his position… [being] as a result of land disputes" (Maaka, "Preface", in Orwin, 1997: 8). This highlights the issue of multiple selves, and the questions of which are brought into play situationally, and how, to maximise the cultural and social capital they encompass. Wanhalla describes how for Ngāi Tahu at Maitapapa "…in the ability to jump between identity categories, the half-caste represented a danger to the progress of colonisation… [and] in their ability to transgress boundaries of identity… challenged customary systems of land ownership", which illustrates the possibilities for situational access to power that multiple selves can deliver (2004: 245).

The situations of Māori-European cross-cultural transactions in late eighteenth-nineteenth century New Zealand have been used to tease out what role culture and identity had in how these people understood each other, and what exactly was transacted. The unpublished recorded observations of subaltern participants have been used to supplement those of their 'superiors' as have 'other' interpretations of objects and behaviours. In material exchanges, it was not only material objects, but skills and knowledge, which the Ngāi Tahu people fished up with the "Net of Tahu". They are still doing it as are their European counterparts of every social class. Subalterns and 'half-

caste' children in particular are, and were, important mediators. Their hybrid selves and ways of doing things were *results and facilitators* of skill and knowledge acquisition. "Slaves, commoners, even young chiefs all acquired new status… seeming to command the secrets and sources of European knowledge and religion" (Jackson, 1975: 37). Those familiar with status transformations and the personal readjustments required, were more readily able to negotiate cross-cultural boundaries also. Māori and Europeans have done this, as Kondo describes for Japanese "craftsmen [who] construct selves which are complex, multifaceted, and informed by their perceptions of what is required in certain situations" (A.P. Cohen, 1994: 126-8). Thus the 'intercultural boundaries', when viewed 'from below' at the interpersonal level (where they are negotiated), are actually "matters of consciousness" (ibid.) - intellectual and physical zones where worlds intersect, interleave and mesh together, as I have suggested (see p. 4). The more 'partial connections' people and things acquired, the more complex were the selves involved, and the more socially flexible, insightful, and potentially powerful they became. They participated in "modifying the rules for belonging" (Tcherkézoff, 2004: 247, contributed to wider identity discourse and new practices at the society level, and this upset the contemporary power structures, to some extent reconfiguring the hierarchies (ibid.)[148]. This was not created by the 'colonial encounter' alone, but involved the same processes of reflexive readjustment and learning as all encounters, even within families[149]. Scaffolding new knowledge and competencies from the younger/subaltern/ethnic 'other',and using them agentively and creatively, resulted in more complex hybrid selves (ibid.). Like their cultural ancestors Cook, Banks, Boultbee and Caddell, Europeans may be inter-cultural hybrids too. Cook, as Tuffery[150] has portrayed him, began the changes at Tahiti, before entering New Zealand waters, as did Banks, and their hybridity informed by a shorter period of interaction was probably less complex than that of Tūhawaiki, Caddell and Patahi who were exposed to inter-cultural interactions over most of their lives. Like the taonga described in chapter six, the selves of the latter contained more layers of meaning. Historical archival and recent social observations have helped to clarify this, but further analysis of the current situational development of Māori *iwi* and *Pākehā* selves in individual communities and cultural groupings and over time would be a worthwhile corollary to this thesis.

[143] Cf. Amiria Henare (2007:10-12) contrasts 'world-views' with 'worlds'. In her definition 'world-view' implies that there is one world only, with many views of it, whereas for some peoples, there may be, in their understanding, more than one world.

[144] greenstone.

[145] Such as early nineteenth century Murihiku.

[146] However if Salmond's and Tapsell's view of Māori cosmology (op.cit.), is an accurate one, then some objects connected to the gods via the natural world from which they come, may, in the Māori world-view and when acting as instantiations of gods or ancestors, be seen as capable of responding.

[147] *Four Generations from Māoridom,* told to Joanna Orwin.

[148] Cf. Jackson (1975:30).

[149] In line with Hau'ofa's (1993) suggestion that Polynesians have "always been hybrid and hybridising" I see this as true for European cultures also, and that it happens at the level of the self, in just such personal interactions as have happened in the historical situations described here. Every group encounter is also an encounter between selves. Colonial encounters are examples of this, but inter-iwi and inter-hapu encounters prior to the arrival of Europeans probably involved the same thing. It was not a new phenomenon.

[150] See Figure 10.

Glossary

Ara-path

Atua-gods

Fale- Samoan cognate word for whare

Fale fono- meeting house (Samoan)

Haka- intimidating or jubilant dance accompanied by chant

Hapū- subtribe/pregnant

Harakeke- flax, *Phormium tenax*

Hau- breath of life/essence

Hui- meetings/gatherings

Ika-fish

Iwi- tribe/ bones

Kāhu- harrier hawk *Circus approximans*

Karakia- prayers & incantations

Kaumātua- tribal elder

Kaupapa- subject/topic/purpose

Kawa- protocol

Kererū- Wood pigeon Hemiphaga novaezealandiae

Kete- woven flax bag

Kiri- skin/covering/roof

Kōrero- speech/talking

Kōruru- carved figure beneath the tekoteko

Kōwhaiwhai- rafter paintings

Kula- cowrie & other shells exchanged in Trobriand islands

Kūmara- *Ipomea batatas/* sweet potato

Lascar- non- European seaman, usually from India / South East Asia

Lay- whaling/sealing term for a seaman's share of the profit, and how they were paid

Mahinga kai- food gathering places

Mana- power

Mana whenua- power/ control of the land district held by tangata whenua

Malae- Samoan cognate word for marae

Mānuka- *Leptospermum scoparium*, a small hardwood tree/ large shrub

Marae- meeting ground/ ceremonial gathering place

Matai- head/chief of extended family (Samoan)

Mātauranga- education

Mate- death/ injury/sickness

Mauka/ maunga- mountain

Mauri-life force

Mea- things

Moana- sea/lake

Mōhiotanga- knowledge

Mōkihi- flax raft made from stalks of *Phormium tenax*

Murihiku- southern region of South Island roughly corresponding to Southland

Ngākau- heart

Noa- ordinary- opposite of tapu

Pae- threshold

Pākehā- recent immigrants usually Europeans

Pare- lintel

Porara(s)- flax sandals

Poroporoakī- farewell speeches

Pou- post, usually carved

Pōua- affectionate term for grandfather

Pounamu- greenstone/nephrite

Pōwhiri- welcome ceremonies

Puka- anchor

Rangatira- chief/chiefly line

Rāpaki-waistmat

Reo- language

Rourou- food baskets

Swell- Victorian English slang for a person who sees himself as superior

Taiaha- wooden longstaff-like weapon with blade

Take- issue for discussion

Tākata/tāngata- people

Takiwai/tangiwai- variety of greenstone or Bowenite

Tangihanga- mourning ceremonies

Taniwha- legendary monster

Taonga- treasured item

Tapa- cloth made of beaten *aute* bark *Broussinetia papyrifera*

Tapu-sacred

Tāua- affectionate term for grandmother

Tauiwi- foreigners

Tauraka/tauranga- canoe landing place

Tawhito- old/ from or referring to the past

Tekoteko- gable figure, usually ancestral or mythical

Tere- flying/speeding

Te Wai Pounamu- recent Maori name for the South Island of New Zealand

Tika- correct

Tikanga- custom

Tīpuna/tūpuna- ancestors

Tohunga- expert especially with spiritual expertise

Toki- adze

Tuku iho- handed down (from ancestors)

Tukutuku- woven panels with symbolical patterns lining a meeting house

Tūrangawaewae-'place to stand'

ūpoko- head (of body/ group of people)

Utu- payment

Waewae-legs/jambs

Waha- mouth/doorway

Waka- canoe

Wai- water

Waiata- traditional songs/poems

Wānanga- learning

Wero- challenges

Whaikōrero- oratory

Whaimana- seek mana

Whakairo- carved/decorated

Whakapapa- genealogy

Whānau- family/birth

Whāngai- to feed

Whāngai hau- battle ritual offering the 'first fish' person killed

Whānui- far-and-wide

Whare- house

Wharekai-dining house

Wharekura- school/house of learning

Wharenui- lit. big house/ meeting house

Wharepuni- sleeping house

Whenua- land/ placenta

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Alexander Hood Resolution log	ADM 51/4554/182
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Constable Love Adventure jnl	ADM 51/4520/8 & /7

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